

S
978.6
H3rnp
1985

DLA 00-109474

du

MA 2

THE RESOURCE PROTECTION PLANNING PROCESS FOR MONTANA: HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Carroll Van West

for the
Montana State Historic Preservation Office
Montana Historical Society

DRAFT

April 1985

STATE DOCUMENTS COLLECTION

JUN 12 1990

MONTANA STATE LIBRARY
1515 E. 6th AVE.
HELENA, MONTANA 59620

PLEASE RETURN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	1
Table of Contents	11
List of Illustrations	111
Introduction	1
Section I: A New Approach to Montana History	5
Endnotes: Introduction and Section I	19
Section II: The Geographic, Chronological, and Thematic Parameters of the Montana RP3	25
Endnotes: Section II	49
Section III: A Conceptual Model Created by the Historic Contexts of the Montana RP3	54
Endnotes: Section III	58
Project Bibliography	59

List of Illustrations and Charts

Chart I: Distribution of Historic Sites According to Thematic Framework of 1975 Montana Historic Preservation Plan	7
Chart II: A Model for Evaluating Cultural Resources	11
Map I: The Eight Geographic Regions of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process	after 25
Chart III: Research Problems to which Shallow Surface Sites Can Provide Significant Information	27
Chart IV: Provisional Research Hypotheses for the Butte BLM District	35
Chart V: Chronology for the Historic Contexts of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process	40
Chart VI: Architectural Periods Considered by the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process	47
Chart VII: Sample Historic Context Model, Montana Resource Protection Planning Process	55

INTRODUCTION

In early 1980, the Planning Branch, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service of the National Park Service, Department of Interior, stated the purpose of the newly-developed Resource Protection Planning Process (RP3): "to develop a comprehensive historic resource management process which identifies and organizes information about a State's historic, archaeological, architectural, and cultural resources into a form and process readily usable for producing high reliability decision, recommendation, and/or advice about the identification, evaluation, and protection of these resources."¹ The government officials who drafted the report gave seven reasons why every state historic preservation program needed to develop a RP3 of its own: "1) to make preservation decision-making a normal function or element of land use decisions rather than an exceptional one; 2) to reduce administrative conflicts concerning historic preservation decisions; 3) to decrease the need for Federal decision-making about historic preservation; 4) to decrease the frequency of Federal intervention in State and local historic preservation decisions; 5) to establish the practical basis for decentralization of preservation program authority to the States; 6) to convert the Federal role in historic preservation to oversight, conflict resolution, and research and development [and] 7) to provide a focus for public participation in preservation decision-making."²

Federal officials recognized that most states already had historic preservation plans, prepared in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. But, as John Knoerl of the National Park Service pointed out, these initial plans often insufficiently analyzed the cultural resources within the state. The documents failed to integrate history, architecture, and archaeology, and their contents were often too general to be used for specific decision-making. Furthermore, the plans as written were static. They "had no means of using new data to adopt to new circumstances." Nor did these early historic preservation plans address the needs and concerns of the many state, federal, and local government agencies that are concerned with land use and cultural resource decisions. Indeed, some state historic preservation officials had failed to seek the opinion of these constituent groups. In other cases, they had not informed their constituents of the existence of the plans.³

RP3 represented a new generation of preservation planning. No longer did it suffice for the states to possess a numerical listing of "historic sites" where an officer could count the number of historic places of a particular locale. Through its proposed RP3, the federal government urged state preservation programs to develop an open-ended conceptual framework which not only recognized the value of a broad range of cultural resources but also provided a basis by which to manage and protect these resources.

Initially federal officials stressed that the key to the implementation of a successful RP3 is the development of a "study unit." According to John Knoerl, a study unit "orders the database along three lines: (1) a concept or theme that unites or groups together a segment of the database; (2) a time period within which this concept or theme can be identified; and (3) a geographical area within which this concept has relevance or can be delimited."⁴ In time, however, the federal language concerned with RP3 changed; the phrase "historic context" replaced "study unit." That the two phrases discuss the same intellectual construct is indicated in The Secretary of the Interior's Guidelines for Preservation Planning. The Secretary

defines "the central elements of a historic context" as "its cultural concept, geographical limits, and chronological limits."⁵

The results from the states that initially developed RP3 programs indicated that the process did indeed stimulate new ways of approaching preservation planning. With its 1979 management model, Massachusetts officials urged the preservation community to move away from the great man or great building approach in determining significance and adopt a more conceptual methodology of evaluating cultural resources. The Massachusetts Historic Commission believed that the adoption of a social science framework allowed it "to continue to consider and value properties of high artistic merit or outstanding historical associations" while at that same time evaluating the value of "the more mundane and less spectacular remains of Massachusetts history and prehistory."⁶ T. M. Brown and K. L. Killen in Texas stressed the interdisciplinary nature of their study. According to Brown and Killen, the study units for the Texas RP3 were grounded in "the concept of the sociocultural system" which they defined as "a network of human social relations plus the requisite world view, values, and knowledge which allow the network to exist, adapt, and endure through time."⁷ The Ohio preservation program developed an innovative inventory form which utilized the thematic, geographic, and chronological parameters of its RP3.⁸

As state historic preservation officials established RP3 programs, the methodology of the new planning process led them to reconsider the value of the "landmark"⁹ approach that has dominated the field of historic preservation. A more thematic way of looking at cultural resources was the result. In addition, the new state plans adopted much of the perspective of the National Park Service in regards to preservation planning. The new plans indicated a renewed commitment to providing guidance for specific project decisions, to making use of existing data while providing for the utilization of newly-discovered evidence, to integrating the social sciences, and to having input and support from those involved in making land-use decisions. Moreover, the diversity of the initial state plans underscored the contention of the National Park Service that RP3 was a flexible process, adaptable to a state's individual needs, as long as the plan could accomplish its goals within a reasonable amount of time.¹⁰ The current Secretary of Interior's Guidelines for Preservation Planning emphasize the conceptual approach of RP3 in considering the value of cultural resources. While requiring adequate public participation and the integration of RP3 into broader planning processes, the secretary's guidelines also require that new plans establish "historic contexts as the basis for resource identification, evaluation, registration and treatment" and establish "resource management goals and priorities for each historic context."¹¹

Today, most state historic preservation officials accept the need for RP3. As the process of developing historic contexts led resource managers to rethink the way they approach cultural resources, they increasingly appreciated RP3's value as an analytical tool.¹² At one meeting of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, preservationists from throughout the United States concentrated on the questions raised by RP3. According to a survey released at that meeting, nineteen states were using state inventories (some used computer analysis of those inventories) to help them determine historic contexts. But only seven states had developed operating plans and management units for RP3. As a matter of fact, as of the summer of 1984, most states were only in the preliminary stages of RP3.

Several officials believed that they had not worked with the process enough to assess its relative value to their everyday duties.¹³

Montana is one of those states presently developing its own RP3. The contract under which this document was prepared specified that the author develop an "annotated outline of Montana history, dividing the state and its history into study units based on topography, chronology, and themes. Annotations will include rationale for divisions identified, analysis of how physical resources can be evaluated within the study units selected, and evidence that some of the study units have been tested for applicability to site evaluation."¹⁴ A basic goal of Montana's historic contexts (the study units quoted in the contract) is that they reflect a new conceptual perspective on Montana prehistory and history. This approach will be discussed in detail in Section II.

In establishing its historic contexts, the Montana Historic Preservation Office has sought the input of several constituent groups. The author has discussed the plan with such professionals as the editor of the state historical quarterly, the State Historian, and the members of the Montana State Historic Preservation Review Board. He also traveled the entire state of Montana (covering almost 20,000 miles) in a fourteen week period during the winter and spring of 1984 visually surveying the cultural resources of Montana. During these travels, the author spoke to twenty-one civic, historical society, and preservation groups in every region of Montana. In all, the author spoke to some 440 Montanans, including Bureau of Land Management officials, museum curators, historians, state park employees, representatives of the media (including a thirty-minute interview on a local television station), businessmen and businesswomen, architects, geneologists, archaeologists, local government officials, and interested lay persons on the conceptual nature of the historic contexts of RP3 and how the new plan would differ from the initial Montana State Historic Preservation Plan. He solicited their comments on the plan and asked them to contribute relevant data. The response of these 440 Montanans was very encouraging. The author learned more than just the historic sites that local citizens considered significant. There was strong support for a conceptual framework that would stress the entire Montana experience, from the earliest archaeological records of human activity to the present time, over the landmark approach of the first state historic preservation plan. Those who attended the meetings heard a presentation that stressed one theme--as Peirce F. Lewis said so well, "nearly all items in human landscapes reflect culture in some way. There are almost no exceptions. Furthermore, most items in the human landscape are not more and no less important than other items--in terms of their role as clues to culture."¹⁵ The audience left the meetings with a greater appreciation that abandoned homesteads and stone circles, along with great houses and buildings, had to be analyzed if Montanans were to understand their past.

The Montana State Historic Preservation Office, in conjunction with the Montana Historical Society Press, is also publishing a guide to Montana's historic landscapes that will introduce the general reading public, and tourists from outside Montana, to its thinking on Montana history. A Travelers' Companion to Montana History is heavily influenced by the methodology of the Montana RP3. The book integrates, for a general audience, the archaeological past, ethnohistory, and its history over the last one hundred years. Organized around twenty-five cultural landscapes, the book urges travelers to view Montana history through new eyes and discover a past impossible to see in

textbooks. The release date of the book roughly coincides with the completion date of the historic contexts of the Montana RP3: the summer of 1985.

The Montana State Historic Preservation Office has already determined the next stage of RP3 development.¹⁶ In 1985, the author will meet with additional professionals in the field of preservation, archaeology, and history, along with officials at federal and state agencies to discuss the methodology and parameters of the historic contexts. The second part of the contract calls for a "Draft Narrative Analysis, with the extensive examples used, for historic and prehistoric resources, survey strategies, and available site data within 2 of the geographical contexts selected, for all chronological and thematic breakdowns pertinent to that. The final product of this analysis will be the identification of priorities and goals for survey and analysis of historic and prehistoric resources within these regions and the discussion of activities, guidelines, assumptions needed to achieve those priorities or goals. As background for making that final analysis, this material will be based on the gathering and evaluation of the information and study called for in Standard II, A. B., and C. of the Secretary of Interior's Standards for Preservation Planning." This process begins the full historic and prehistoric development of the historic contexts; the projected completion date of the second stage is 1987.

SECTION I: A NEW APPROACH TO MONTANA HISTORY

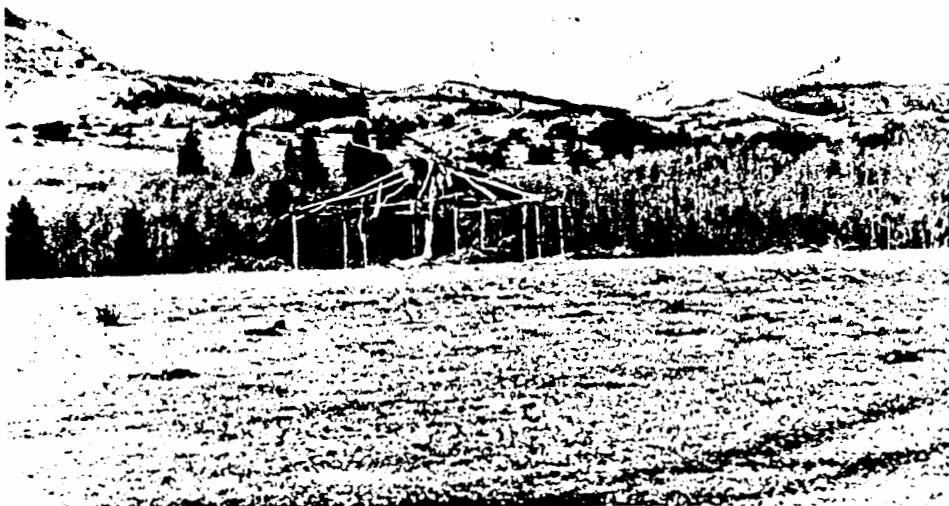
A preliminary step in establishing the historic contexts of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process was an analysis of past overviews of Montana history. The author conducted this overview in order to ascertain whether past analyses of the Montana experience incorporated interpretative models that would be useful in creating the historic contexts of the Montana RP3. The author reviewed these previous historic preservation plans and historical studies with four questions in mind: how did the manuscript integrate history and archaeology, how did the study approach Native American history, did the study address or use physical evidence, and how broad was its exploration of human activity during the historic period? The author first looked at Montana's initial historic preservation plans; he then reviewed recently published overviews of Montana history.

To fulfill the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the Montana Fish and Game Commission, State of Montana, published its first official Montana Historic Preservation Plan in 1970.¹ Its historical approach was traditional, aimed at places and events that could inspire patriotism and almost entirely focused on the "landmarks" of well-known political and military events and personages in Montana. The concerns of the emerging field of new social history were not addressed; sites that might be significant for their contribution to understanding patterns in human activity were ignored. In the introduction, Montana officials gave a brief overview of Montana geology, followed by an outline of Montana history. In this account, history began in the mid-1700s with some rather disjointed comments on medicine wheels, pictographs, and bison kills comprising the discussion on Native Americans before the arrival of Euroamericans. There was no treatment of Montana archaeology, although several sites were later listed. Native American history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, outside of the involvement with the United States military, was not discussed. Part of the problem with the 1970 plan lay with its limited definition of historical significance;² the authors did not address cultural resources which were not classified as recognized historical landmarks. But part of the problem also lay with the authors' refusal to question the historic guidelines provided by the National Park Service. The authors did not adapt the historic themes established by the National Park Service to Montana history. Consequently, the Montana document included themes such as "Native Cultures of the Pacific," "Development of the English Colonies," "Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1830," and "Major American Wars," which the authors admitted had nothing to do with Montana resources. The theme most glaringly in error was that of "Living Remnant" which described the Native Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth century; it was hardly an appropriate selection for Montana since the state contains seven Indian reservations, proof that the Native Americans of today are more than "living remnants" of the past. But, the thematic contexts were also surprisingly weak in twentieth century history in general; themes such as the "Westward Expansion" tended to narrow the historical field of vision, omitting groups of people and behavior that are often characterized as the "underside" of American history.³

Five years later, the Montana Fish and Game Commission released the second edition of the Montana Historic Preservation Plan.⁴ The second edition differed from the initial plan in several aspects. Most important, however, was its new thematic framework. The authors claimed that "the organization of Montana history into a system of themes and subthemes provides an orderly

and comprehensive framework into which cultural resources can be placed." The new arrangement had two objectives: "(1) to define and preserve a balanced and complete representation of Montana's historical heritage; and (2) to identify 'gaps' in this representation and attempt to remedy them."⁵ Yet, instead of creating themes germane to the Montana experience, the authors leaned heavily on the eleven major standardized themes proposed by the National Park Service, although they included among these topics sub-themes that they considered relevant to the history of Montana.

The 1975 plan's eleven themes, with sub-themes listed in parenthesis, were: 1) Aboriginal Americans (prehistoric; historic) 2) the arts (architecture; urban planning; music/literature/ theatre; painting/sculpture) 3) conservation 4) education 5) exploration and settlement (explorers; settlers) 6) military affairs (Army-Indian wars; transition from local to national defense) 7) political affairs 8) recreation 9) science 10) society (religion/philosophy; social/humanitarian⁶) and 11) technology (agriculture/animal husbandry; commerce/communication/transportation; engineering/industry; fur trade; mining frontier). Montana officials then listed historic sites according to the framework. As indicated in Chart I, the vast majority of identified historic sites fell into three categories: Aboriginal Americans (14.2 percent of the total), the arts (17.0 percent), and technology (35.9 percent). There was no overlapping of sites between the various themes. The plan was biased toward history from 1800 to 1900. Only one out of every seven historic places dealt with the Native Americans. In general, the 1975 document retained many of the weaknesses founded in Montana's initial historic preservation plan.⁷



Sun lodge, Blackfeet Indian Reservation

Chart I: Distribution of Historic Sites According to Thematic Framework of 1975 Montana Historic Preservation Plan

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Number of Sites</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Aboriginal Americans	101	14.2
The Arts	121	17.0
Conservation	6	0.8
Education	25	3.5
Exploration and Settlement	40	5.6
Military Affairs	66	9.3
Political Affairs	35	4.9
Recreation	8	1.1
Science	1	0.1
Society	54	7.6
Technology	256	35.9

During the seventies, academics and educators also published textbooks and guides that organized Montana history into thematic arrangements. In Montana: A Student's Guide to Localized History, M. H. Brown and V. G. Griffing summarized the state's initial experience in three chapters. "Pathway to Riches" briefly mentioned the "Indian tribes" and then covered Montana history to 1864. The next chapter, "Territorial Transitions," discussed the years from 1864 to 1884. The final chapter, "Passage into the Mainstream," covered the events from statehood to the present.⁸ William Lang and Rex Myers' Montana: Our Land and People stressed the close relationship between people and land, maintaining that "Montanans have a close relationship with the land and with their environment. The real history of the state begins with the land itself."⁹ But since the textbook was designed for the secondary level of education, and the general reading public, the authors' promising start soon gave way to a largely traditional history of Montana. One short chapter dealt with Montana prior to the Lewis and Clark expedition; another chapter discussed the years from 1800 to the first gold rush. The authors then took nine chapters to discuss the period from 1860 to 1920 and the last three chapters dealt with the last sixty years of Montana history. Recently described as the "most noteworthy" one-volume state history,¹⁰ Montana: A History of Two Centuries, by Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, also organizes Montana history in a traditional manner, concentrating on events from the last 125 years with a particular focus on political history. The authors' distinctive contribution was an added emphasis on twentieth century Montana history, a subject often ignored.¹¹

Upon completing the review of previous preservation plans and overviews of Montana history, the author found no thematic approach that would be helpful in delineating the historic contexts of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process. But the author also concluded that the problem of these earlier studies was not as much the conclusions drawn in the books and plans as the way they looked at history. The Montana Historic Preservation Office has urged those interested in the fields of historic preservation, history, and archaeology, to look at the Montana experience with new eyes, focusing their inquiry as much as possible on the physical resource itself. Such a perspective on historical investigation led the author to develop a new conceptualization of the Montana past. The remainder of Section I discusses in some detail the thinking behind this different approach to Montana prehistory and history.

One of the first problems the author had to address was the tendency of historians and social scientists to see the past through the prism of the theory of progress, i.e., an imperfect past is always improving to a better tomorrow.¹² The historian Bernard Bailyn reminded his profession that such a conceptual foundation is no longer valid and should be avoided.¹³ John W. Bennett, a cultural anthropologist, stresses that anthropology also has been "deeply influenced by the doctrine of progress," leading to an emphasis on "human accomplishments, rather than failures; upward and onward, rather than stagnation, decline, and fall." The unfortunate result of this collective conceptual assumption, according to Bennett, is "a tendency to ignore the consequences of human use of Nature in favor of what was seen as increasing control over it--ignoring, in the process, the destructiveness and fragility of [ecological] systems based on increasing dependence on finite or scarce resources for the support of increasing populations."¹⁴

Another basic problem of prior overviews of Montana is their devotion to the study of "manifest" history, a term defined as "the story of events that contemporaries were clearly aware of, that were matters of conscious concern, were consciously struggled over, [and] were, so to speak, headline events in their own time even if their causes and their underlying determinants were buried below the level of contemporaries' understanding."¹⁵ Such a viewpoint on the past is inappropriate for those concerned with cultural resources since it rarely addresses the patterns of human activity which can be studied via the physical remnants of history. This devotion also explains why prior state historic preservation plans and standard Montana history textbooks include such themes and chapters as "Territorial Transitions," "Political Affairs," "Society," "Westward Expansion," "The Progressive Era and World War I," and "Challenge of the Twentieth Century." In the early decades of this century, narratives of manifest history were the norm since public records, the personal papers of politicians and leading capitalists, newspapers, and other literary documents comprised the primary sources for historical writing. Whatever their inclinations, historians always reflect the documentary evidence that lies within their hands. But historians of the present generation, with multiple social science methodologies available along with the explosion of historical evidence generated by the sub-disciplines of the new social history and quantification,¹⁶ have little excuse to rely on traditional sources of evidence when they reconstruct the past.

Professionals in the fields of historic preservation and cultural resource management can avoid many of the conceptual pitfalls mentioned above by following one of the basic tenets of the new social history: to concentrate their

inquiry on the physical resource, allow it to generate questions and the boundaries of investigation, and avoid the temptation of grafting accepted interpretation as taken from the literature to patterns established by the physical resource.

"When historians studiously ignore three-dimensional documents, they seem to do so because they cannot tell in advance what they might learn," John T. Schlebecker recently pointed out. "They act as though the search for objects will lead to less certain results than the search for pieces of paper." But such is not the case at all, as has been amply proven by recent studies from John R. Stilgoe, Richard White, J. B. Jackson, James Young, and Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum.¹⁷ What too many in the field of historic preservation forget is that cultural resources "have a place in the world of man; they are simply part of the physical work of being, but also of the human world of meaning." To ignore such evidence in historical research means that one will not be able to understand past societies to the fullest possible extent.¹⁸

A decade ago, E. McClung Fleming introduced a model for artifact study which is a very useful tool in analyzing cultural resources. The Fleming model (Chart II) is important because it represents a way of thinking about cultural resources that professionals in the field of historic preservation, especially historians, can apply to their analysis of site data. Its four basic steps--identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation--enable managers and students of cultural resources to investigate the physical remnants of the past thoroughly. The Fleming model will be of more limited value to archaeologists. Since the evidence they use is a result of field work, archaeologists have long employed sophisticated models of artifact and site analysis. As more historians add a Fleming model-type of resource analysis to their methodology, field work will become as crucial for the analysis of historic cultural resources as it already is in the study of prehistoric resources.

The first step of the Fleming model is "identification," in other words determining what the resource is and classifying it accordingly. A key part of the identification process is to determine the resource's basic properties; its history, material, design, construction, and function. Clearly, research in historical and archaeological literature often will aid the identification process. The second step is "evaluation" which Fleming defines as evaluating the resource's five properties "in terms of our culture's value standards." An important part of this procedure is to compare the resource in question with other similarly identified physical remnants. The third step is "cultural analysis" or "the relationship of the artifact to its culture." Here, the primary concern is with function. Fleming states that "discussion of the utility function will necessarily involve discussion of the human behavior associated with the artifact and the social group of structures engaging in that behavior." This third step also involves product analysis ("the ways in which a culture leaves its mark on a particular artifact") and content analysis ("the ways in which a particular artifact reflects its culture"). The fourth, and final, step is "interpretation," which is defined as an analysis of the relation of the physical resource to its culture. Fleming elaborated that "interpretation will vary as the personal, class, ideological, and national interests of interpreters and their audiences vary." Consequently, judgments on the significance, or lack of significance, of a given resource must not be made on interpretation

alone. Interpretation is the final, not the initial, step in the process of resource analysis. As a matter of fact, cultural resource managers must be willing to question the "accepted" interpretation of a given resource if the evidence generated by the resource points in new directions.¹⁹

The Fleming model of analysis embodies a method of thinking about cultural resources that should be of great value to professionals in the field of historic preservation. For all agencies and private individuals concerned with meeting the compliance regulations of the federal government (laws which require government agencies and private companies and individuals to consider an area's cultural resources and evaluate their potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places before they exchange the land, move the structures, or allow private development of federal property), this type of methodology allows them to focus on the physical resource itself

Abandoned farmstead, Treasure County

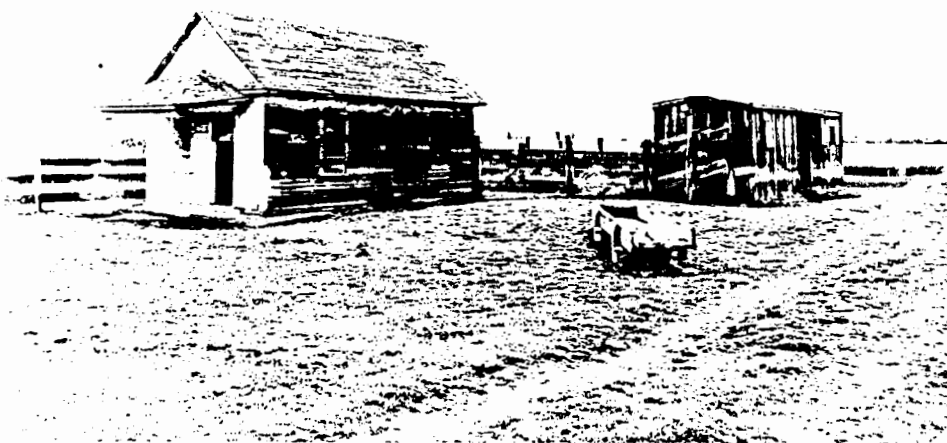


Chart II: A Model for Evaluating Cultural Resources

Source: Fleming, "Artifact Study," Schlereth, ed., Material Culture Studies

IDENTIFICATION

1. What is the resource?
2. Determine its function, history, material, design, and construction (its five properties)
3. Utilize literary sources, if necessary, to aid identification

EVALUATION

1. Evaluate resource's five properties according to prevailing cultural standards and values
2. Compare resource to other similarly identified resources

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

1. Evaluate and explore the function of the resource
2. Determine the relationship between resource and its culture
3. Subject the resource to product analysis
4. Subject the resource to content analysis

INTERPRETATION

1. Utilize literary sources if necessary

and makes the analysis of the cultural remnant to be a primary factor in determining its significance under the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places.

In the past twenty years, many studies have shown the utility of resource analysis. The findings have been so significant and persuasive that there is no doubt that resource analysis should become part of the methodology of every professional in the field of historic preservation. A few examples of the value of the methodology are in order. Bruce A. Lohof has studied the gasoline service station in the United States. Here is a physical resource that few experts would consider significant or even worthy of investigation. But in his study of structures belonging to the Marathon Oil Company, Lohof shows how the service station helps us to understand the mobility of contemporary society.²⁰ Lizabeth A. Cohen's study of working-class homes, dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indicates the mentality and lack of class consciousness among the working class of America. Examples of this type of scholarship can be multiplied many times over.²¹

This large corpus of material and theory leads the Montana Historic Preservation Office to focus on the physical resource whenever it analyzes the built environment. Preconceived notions about a town's history, largely taken from local histories, do not determine the manner in which a historical investigation unfolds. Instead, the Office looks at the patterns that the

resources create and evaluates carefully the individual components of the town plan and the streetscape. Consequently, the cultural resources at question, not the historical literature conveniently found at the local library, guides the staff person in his or her determination of the focus of inquiry.²²

Adopting the perspective as outlined above means that managers and students of cultural resources must also investigate types of literary evidence too often ignored in the past. These new sources would include historical photography, mail-order catalogs, cartography, (particularly city and town plans), federal census records, city directories, local newspapers, local government documents, travelers' accounts, and county tax lists. No study of a town or city would be complete without a thorough investigation and evaluation of these sources, no matter how complete the physical inventory of individual buildings and structures.²³

Leland Ferguson, after analyzing the recent scholarship of resource and artifact analysis, once remarked that "perhaps as important as the ideas people happen to write down are the things they leave behind." Traditional and "non-traditional" sources must be used together if past history is to be evaluated completely.

Even if the managers and students of cultural resources are ready to use both literary and physical evidence in their inquiries, those investigations will be of little benefit if professionals continue to rely on the "Turner thesis" as the basic conceptualization of the western historical experience. In 1893, Frederick J. Turner told the meeting of the American Historical Association that

American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating America character In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave--the meeting point between savagery and civilization.

The themes Turner established to describe this "wave"--the cattleman frontier, mining frontier, etc.--continue to appear in the historic overviews of many cultural resource studies. But, as explained below, professionals should avoid the conceptualization of the Turner thesis for several reasons, especially its ethnocentric assumptions about the Native Americans and its devaluation of historical activity that is outside the phenomenon of westward expansion.²⁴

As the thesis evolved in the writings of Turner and other American historians the word frontier became synonymous with the term "westward expansion." The frontier was defined as an area where heroic and brave Americans transformed "savagery" and "wilderness" into a stable, "civilized" society. As one follower of Turner elaborated, "the westward movement is the tide, whereas the frontier is the line of breakers and white surf. Or, to change the metaphor, the frontier is the tip of a growing plant, the farthest point reached by the flowing sap, and the hope of the plant's continuous growth."²⁵ Despite pointed criticism,²⁶ the "frontier thesis" was an elaborate historical construct that seemingly proved the march of progress; so a large part of the history profession accepted it without question, any nagging doubts

being overwhelmed by the alleged ability of the thesis to explain so much. But did Turner really explain the "western experience?" The dominance of the Turner thesis meant that the history of the American West became a story of how different groups of Euroamericans (particularly fur trappers, stock-growers, and miners in Montana) slowly "civilized" the region; clearly this story is only part of the western historical experience.²⁷

Yet the Turner thesis still dominates much professional thinking on western history in general and Montana history in particular. There are several ways of looking at this influence. One is through the choice of words that historians after Turner have used to describe certain aspects of western history. Three of the most troubling are: the comparison between "savagery" and "civilization," the description of frontier land as "virgin" land, and the use of the word pioneer. How do phrases such as these three distort historical interpretation? For example, to write history as a struggle between "civilization" and "savagery," according to the ethnohistorian Francis Jennings, is to make "a moral sanction It is a weapon of attack rather than a standard of measurement."²⁸ Also part of the "cant of conquest" often encountered in American historiography and American history museum exhibits is the myth that America was a "virgin land" before the process of westward expansion "civilized" the country. A generation ago, A. Irving Hallowell argued that America "was not in any sense a virgin land countless generations of Indians had left their imprints upon the landscape." But so few historians listened to Hallowell that Francis Jennings was forced to restate his case almost twenty years later. Euroamericans did not discover a "virgin" land; rather they discovered a "widowed land," recently populated by thousands of Native Americans who dies when virgin soil epidemics reached first the east coast and then later the Northern Plains. Jennings pointedly remarked that the newcomers "did not settle a virgin land. They invaded and displaced a resident population."²⁹ The use of the word "pioneer" is a further reflection of the common assumption that America was a savage, but virgin land ready to be possessed by energetic and civilized Euroamericans. Again, Francis Jennings has understood better than most the problems of using such a misleading term. He has written:

Every European "discoverer" had Indian guides. Every European colonizer had Indian instruction and assistance. Ethnocentric semantics have hidden the chief role of Indians in the creation of American society by reserving exclusively for Europeans the honorable title of "pioneer" and contrasting it to the lowly status of "native," but the European vanguard were pupils in the Indian school. Indians brought to their symbiotic partnership with Europeans the experience and knowledge of millennia of genuine pioneering.³⁰

All three phrases--the civilization-savagery comparison, the concept of virgin land, and the description of pioneer--involve ethnocentric assumptions about the nature of Euroamerican and Native American relations while, at the same time embracing much of the "cant of conquest" ideology that has marred American historical writing. Using these ideas involve making inappropriate value judgments that the Montana State Historic Preservation Office is not prepared to make.

Another way of looking at the Turnerian influence is to look closely at how textbooks and monographs have dealt with the Native Americans in general. Outside of an occasional isolated, and brief, chapter on the Indians, recent Montana textbooks typically treat history prior to 1800 as a thinly outlined preface which is quickly forgotten in the narrative that follows.³¹

The static approach to the history of Native Americans in standard textbooks about Montana and the American west, not to mention the scant attention directed at the highly adaptive way of life of the Indians, leaves in place many stereotypes long associated with the Native Americans. The Indians are portrayed as a primitive people, scratching out a living as nomadic hunters in the plains and mountains. This common stereotype, so popular in the mass media, covers up the reality. The Native Americans were nomadic because it was a successful strategy of using the resources of the environment. As part of their subsistence strategy, the Native Americans also dug up and prepared wild roots, berries, and plants. Even in areas where animals were not particularly numerous, vegetal foods such as the "Indian turnip" provided a subsistence level of caloric intake. The common stereotype also leaves no place for those who followed the agricultural way of life associated with the Mandan and Hidatsa of the Upper Missouri until they adapted to new possibilities created by the environment of eastern Montana. Recent archaeological studies emphasize the change, albeit at a slow pace, Native American societies experienced over the centuries. When historians portray the Indian past in a static manner, it serves to strengthen a false and damaging stereotype, namely that changes in the Native American lifeways from the 1860s to the 1930s proved that they accepted the "superiority" of Euroamerican life. Rather, historians should consider this period as additional evidence of the resiliency and adaptability of Native American culture. To assert, with an off-hand remark, that the Indians were primitive because of the nomadic seasonality of their lives is fraught with danger. Think for a moment. If one describes the seasonality of Indian lifeways as a mark of primitivism and poor technological development, how then does one evaluate the tradition of the summer school vacation, a necessity when most of the population was engaged in labor-intensive agriculture but, as a rational division of time, of little use in the latter twentieth century?³²

A final way of looking at the pervasive influence of the Turner thesis is through the limits it has imposed on the study of Euroamerican history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are several examples to discuss. Turner's belief that the frontier experience ended in the 1890s has led many historians to consider that only people, places, and events of the nineteenth century are "historic." This widespread devaluation of twentieth century history is a serious problem; the implications of such assumptions in the field of cultural resource management have been significant. Although this has changed for the better in the last five years, too many historians and managers of cultural resources will not consider a physical remnant dating to the twentieth century as historically significant, no matter what its contribution to the historical record. Historians and managers have recently taken note of the homestead boom and bust phenomenon that swept Montana and the American west during the first two decades of the twentieth century, but it is quite likely that this recognition is due to the fact that scholars can place the homesteading experience into the Turnerian concept of frontier. In such a scheme, the homestead period becomes the final "frontier" in Montana history and the homesteaders themselves become the last wave of "pioneers," following the footsteps of the miners and cattle barons. Where such a conceptualization leaves the rest of the twentieth century history is difficult to say--but it is obvious that some scholars who see the homesteading experience of the 1910s as historically significant have difficulty at times seeing a similar importance in a factory, bridge, ferry, or hydroelectric dam dating to that same decade. Only cultural resources that can be classified as "pioneering" feats or as examples of a "new frontier"

(such as oil exploration in the twentieth century) are considered to be significant. Resources that typify the commonplace are largely ignored and activities and places detailing the experiences of the average inhabitant are usually overlooked.

Conceptualizations of Montana history that are grounded in the precepts of the Turner thesis invariably focus on nineteenth century Euroamerican history. Yet, this myopic view of the past does not mean the human activity of this time period is discussed thoroughly. As the research of John Reys has indicated, when one analyzes urban development in the west, the notion of an advancing frontier, where there are levels of social and economic development culminating in large, "civilized" centers of population, is misleading. In many places in the West, architecturally designed urban centers came first. Billings and Livingston are just two examples in Montana. A preoccupation with the concerns of the Turner thesis may also lead to excluding certain groups and topics from the analysis of nineteenth century history. The most serious omissions tend to be women, ethnic groups, and the general phenomenon of urban development in the west. Several recent studies during the last two decades have given future historians the research base from which to re-draw the traditional account of the nineteenth century West. As they become acquainted themselves with the new research, professionals in the field of historic preservation will give closer consideration to such cultural resource questions as did women orient the built environment of their homestead or ranch differently than men, can patterns of building types, farming preferences, and land use be a clue to ethnic origins and influence in Montana, how did spatial, architectural, psychological, and political preferences shape urban development and is there a relationship between land use patterns and environmental conditions?

To address the problems caused by the Turner conceptualization of the western experience, three additions to one's methodological perspective are very helpful. A non-ethnocentric definition of the word "frontier" is a necessity. Jack D. Forbes points out that "while undoubtedly serving a useful purpose within the framework of Anglo-American nationalism," the Turnerian definition of frontier "is essentially one-sided and ethnocentric. It is in effect looking at an inter-group contact situation entirely from the point of view of one of the interested participants."³³ Several definitions by social scientists should be considered. John Opie, a historian of the environment, has written that "(f)rontier history is more adequately described in part as a contest between remarkable different cultures for the use of the landscape." Jack D. Forbes defines frontier "as an inter-group contact situation, that is, as any instance of more than momentary contact between two ethnic, cultural or national groups." According to Forbes, a frontier thus becomes "an instance of dynamic interaction between human beings and involves such processes as acculturation, assimilation, miscegenation, race prejudice, conquest, imperialism, and colonialism." G. A. Waselkou and R. E. Paul, two archaeologists, perceive a frontier as "a zone of mixture and interaction, where societies meet in active competition." Perhaps the most comprehensive definition is that of Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson. Frontier means "a territory or zone of interpenetration between two previously distinct societies. Usually one of the societies is indigenous to the region, or at least has occupied it for many generations; the other is intrusive. The frontier 'opens' in a given zone when the first representatives of the intrusive society arrive; it 'closes' when a single political authority has established hegemony over the zone." Traditional experts on the American west have begun to use these new definitions of frontier history. The best

ample is the latest work of Robert M. Utley, who stated in the preface of The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890 that "if the concept of frontier is to have validity, it has to be treated as a considerably more complicated phenomenon than that first described by Frederick Jackson Turner."³⁴ In establishing the historic contexts of the Montana RP3, the author has adopted Lamar and Thompson's definition of frontier.

An ethnohistorical perspective towards both Native American and Euroamerican history played a crucial role in the author's formulation of the Montana historic contexts. Many professionals perceive ethnohistory as just another word for Native American studies, but this is a very limited view about the value of an ethnohistorical perspective. As Wilcomb E. Washburn of the Smithsonian Institution has written, ethnohistory is more "a process and a method" than "a rigid discipline with fixed borders and strict entrance requirement;" it is a "method of isolating the facts and perceiving them from all sides." This anthropological approach to historical evidence, according to Bruce G. Trigger, presents "the motivations of the members of each interest groups as clearly as possible, but to do this impartially and in such a manner that the interest of the reader focuses on the total situation rather than on the passions or problems of any one group."³⁵ As Trigger has elaborated at some length, while ethnohistory has a special contribution to make to Native American studies, it can also lead to a better understanding of Euroamerican behavior:

Much current writing of Indian history seems to aim, either consciously or unconsciously, at making the behaviour of Indians sympathetic to White readers by interpreting it in terms of beliefs and mores that resemble those which are positively-valued by Whites and therefore are easily grasped by them. This may lead to certain behaviours being played-down in a manner that does not correspond with an objective or ethnologically sophisticated reading of the historical record. We must conclude that sympathy as a prime motive does not always lead to understanding and that without a clear understanding of people's motives respect is impossible. All too much has been written about Indians that is benevolent and well-intentioned, yet most of this literature has failed to promote a genuine understanding of the Indians as people who had worthy ambitions of their own and who were, and are, able to conduct their own affairs and to interact intelligently with Europeans. I believe it especially important that current ethnohistorical writing should aim to make the behaviour of Indian groups logical and understandable. Moreover, . . . if we are to understand the total situation, we must attempt to achieve a similar dispassionate understanding of the motives of European groups, such as the Jesuits, who interacted with the Indians. In the long run, this may require as much effort, and even more self-discipline, than does an understanding of the Indians.³⁶

The ethnohistorical approach could be described as anthropological history. If it helps to answer historical questions, should not other other social sciences be of equal value? In thinking about the historic contexts for the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process, the author gave an unqualified yes to this question. The social sciences are a valuable aid in making decisions about cultural resources.³⁷ "Anthropology," Natalie Z. Davis has asserted, "can widen the possibilities, can help us take off our blinders, and give us a new place from which to view the past and discover the strange and surprising in the familiar landscape of historical texts." But anthropology

is not the only contributor. Bruce G. Trigger argues that "C'est seulement a la lumiere de l'archaeologie que l'on peut etablir objectivement la nature des cultures qui ont existe avant le contact avec les Europeens." (It is only by the light of archaeology that one can establish objectively the nature of the cultures which existed before contact with Europeans.)³⁸ Historical geography, in addition, has opened new windows for understanding the frontier phenomenon of the American west. Rather than following the simplistic Turnerian mode of geographic analysis, historical geographers are concerned with "such measurable cultural evidence as vernacular architecture, town plans, agricultural systems, church congregations, and social institutions" along with "such systems of circulation as facilities and services in the sequence of turnpikes, canals, railroads, and telegraph lines."³⁹ The applicability of such analysis for the field of historic preservation is quite evident. Possessing the frame of reference of a historical geographer is just as important for evaluating the activity of Euroamericans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as having an ethnohistorical perspective on Native American history. Geographical analysis allows one to uncover, through town plans, streetscapes, and land use patterns, the activities and values of those who left no written records. Coming to terms with a town survey, for example, is impossible without studying the resources with a geographer's eye.

The biological sciences also may make important methodological contributions to one's thinking about cultural resources. The fields of environmental and ecological history, adjuncts of cultural ecology, both broaden the study and understanding of historic sites. Seeing cultures as "human adaptations" and "ways of life," anthropologist Marshall D. Sahlins reminds social scientists that "[t]here is an interchange between culture and environment, perhaps continuous dialectic interchange, if in adapting the culture transforms its landscape and so must respond anew to changes that it had set in motion." Such an ecological construct allows those concerned with evaluating cultural resources to answer "how and why humans use Nature, how they incorporate Nature into Society, and what they do to themselves, Nature and Society in the process"-clearly a vital issue for the historic preservation field to address.⁴⁰ Like historical geography, these two fields of inquiry forces the managers and students of cultural resources to focus on the physical remnant itself, requiring a commitment to analytical thinking sometimes missing from cultural resource inventories. It is useful to remember, however, that earlier examples of environmental history, such as Walter Prescott Webb's The Great Plains which argued that environment came first and shaped human institutions, are of limited value. As William Cronon has shown for the colonial period, environmental and ecological analysis has an unique "ability to uncover processes and long-term changes which might otherwise remain invisible," making it "especially helpful in evaluating historical changes in modes of production in one sense, economy in such an approach becomes a subset of ecology."⁴¹

A firm commitment to an interdisciplinary approach has guided the establishment of Montana's historic contexts. A social science approach is necessary because cultural resource managers are not as concerned with evaluating written documents as they are with the "designs that a society imposes upon its territory and its living space." That evidence becomes "some of the most powerful statements" a people can make about themselves.⁴² As John Kouwenhoven said twenty years ago, too often American scholars have "based our ideas of America primarily upon ingenious verbal generations that are sometimes laughably and sometimes tragically unrelated to actualities."⁴³

The field of historic preservation can help to fill this gap in our understanding of the past through its study of cultural resources. Scholars increasingly recognize that history must be more than words about words.⁴⁴ Rhys Isaac recently observed that "a society necessarily leaves marks of use upon the terrain it occupies. These marks are meaningful signs not only of the particular relations of a people to environment but also of the distribution and control of access to essential resources. Incised upon a society's living space appears a text for the inhabitants . . . of social relations in their world . . . anthropologists for present societies, and historical ethnographers for past ones, must seek to interpret such texts--both to understand the relations of production inscribed upon the land and to decipher as much as they can of the meanings that such relations assumed for those who were part of them."⁴⁵

But the new definitions and commitment to social science methodologies discussed above will be of little value to the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process unless they are combined with a commitment to understanding the physical resource in question. Unless managers study the cultural resource, evaluate it on its own terms, and allow questions to be generated by the resource itself, once again the analysis of Montana's historic sites will be just so many words about words. The historic contexts for the Montana RP3 calls for a basic reorientation in cultural resource analysis. Not only should there be more ethnohistorical and interdisciplinary research, but researchers should allow the resource itself to guide their determination of the parameters of investigation. More important than the Lamar and Thompson definition of frontier, more important than Trigger's understanding of ethnohistory, and more important than the reference of a historical geographer is Fleming's model of resource analysis. If every cultural resource inventory applies that model of inquiry to the physical remnants at hand, decisions on the research potential and National Register eligibility of cultural resources will rest on a much more solid foundation.

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1. National Park Service, "Resource Protection Planning--A Process for Comprehensive Historic Preservation Planning, Draft Report, Feb. 28, 1980," (Washington, 1980), 1.
2. Ibid.
3. Washington Archaeological Research Center, "RP3 1/2," The Thunderbird: Archaeological News of the Northwest (June 20, 1983), 3.
4. Ibid., 5-6.
5. U. S. Department of Interior, "Secretary of Interior Guidelines for Preservation Planning," (Washington, n. d.), 14.
6. Cultural Resources in Massachusetts: A Model for Management (Washington, 1979), vi, 11-12.
7. T. M. Brown and K. L. Killen, Resource Protection Planning Process for Texas (Austin, 1982), 15.
8. Ohio sample inventory form (unpublished, available in Files, State Historic Preservation Office, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana.)
9. For decades, many historical societies and preservation groups have protected sites and buildings associated with the great men and women, major political events, and battlefields of American and/or state and local history. Such an elitist concept toward cultural resources is often termed the landmark approach.
10. W.A.R.C., "RP3 1/2," 7.
11. U. S. Department of Interior, Annotated Standards for Preservation Planning (Washington, n. d.), 7-13.
12. W.A.R.C., "RP3 1/2," 7.
13. National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, "RP3 Survey Results," (Washington, 1984).
14. Contract with C. Van West, 1983-1984, Files, Montana SHPO.
15. Peirce F. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene", D. W. Meinig, ed., The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes (New York, 1979), 18.

16. Contract with C. Van West, 1984-85, Files, Montana SHPO.

SECTION I

1. Montana Fish and Game Commission, The Montana Historic Preservation Plan: With Historic Sites Compendium (Helena, 1970).
2. The plan stated: "a historically significant event is defined as one which was of sufficient importance that it became a turning point in history or which had a major influence upon subsequent events." The authors then allowed that "in all other fields which are representative or typical of an era or field of endeavor, as well as those which are deemed significant." Ibid., 15.
3. Ibid., 1-8, 74-86.
4. Montana Fish and Game Commission, The Montana Historic Preservation Plan, Second Edition (Helena, 1975).
5. Ibid., 7.
6. This term was defined in an odd way: it "recognizes those who, when life was cheap [?], as it always was on the frontier [??], made the extra effort to better the human condition." Ibid., 8.
7. Ibid., 8.
8. Margery H. Brown and Virginia G. Griffing, Montana: A Student's Guide to Localized History (New York, 1971), 1-38.
9. William L. Lang and Rex C. Myers, Montana: Our Land & People (Boulder, 1979).
10. Eugene G. Berwanger, "The Absurd and the Spectacular: The Historiography of the Plains-Mountain States--Colorado, Montana, Wyoming," Pacific Historical Review, L(Nov., 1981), 453.
11. M. P. Malone and R. B. Roeder, Montana: A History of Two Centuries (Seattle, 1976). The chapter titles were: Montana in Prehistory, Exploration and the Rivalry of Empires, The Era of the Fur Trade, The Mining Frontier, Montana Territory, Indian Removal, 1851-1890, Stockmen and the Open Range, Railroads, Silver, and Statehood, Copper and Politics; 1880-1910, The Homestead Boom: 1900-18, The Progressive Era and World War I, Drought, Depression and War: 1919-46, The Modern Montana Economy: 1920-75, A Social and Cultural Profile, and The Recent Political Scene: 1945-1975. Other thematic approaches to Montana history include Federal Writers' Project, Montana: A State Guide Book (Washington, 1939) and Dave Walter, et al., Visual History of Montana (Helena, 1977-78). There are no thorough overviews of Montana Amerindian history or archaeology. A solid guide to a part of the region is George C. Frison, Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains (New York, 1978).
12. Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History (London, 1931),

- preface; Edward H. Carr, What Is History? (New York, 1962), 50-51.
13. Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," American Historical Review, 87(Feb., 1981), 3.
 14. John W. Bennett, The Ecological Transition: Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaptation (New York, 1976), 123.
 15. Bailyn, "Challenge of Historiography," 9.
 16. James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," American Historical Review, 84(Dec., 1979), 1293-1333; John A. Jakle, "Time, Space, and the Geographic Past: A Prospectus for Historical Geography," American Historical Review, 76(Oct., 1971), 1084-1103; David Herlihy, "Numerical and Formal Analysis in European History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XII(Summer 1981), 115-36; Allan G. Bogue, "Numerical and Formal Analysis in United States History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XII(Summer 1981), 137-75; W. O. Ayedelotte, "Quantification in History," American Historical Review 71(1965-66), 803-825.
 17. John T. Schlebecker, "The Use of Objects in Historical Research," Agricultural History, LI(Jan. 1977), 200-208; John R. Stilgoe, Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene (New Have, 1983); J.B. Jackson, Discovering the Vernacular Landscape (New Haven, 1984); Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft (Cambridge, 1974), 80-109; James S. Young, The Washington Community, 1800-1828 (New York, 1966), 65-83; Richard White, Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County Washington (Seattle, 1980).
 18. Steven M. Bekcow, "Culture, History, and Artifact," Thomas J. Schlereth, ed., Material Culture Studies in America (Nashville, 1982), 120.
 19. E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," Winterthur Portfolio, IX(June 1974), 153-161.
 20. Bruce A. Lohof, "The Service Station in America: The Evolution of a Vernacular Form," Industrial Archaeology, II(Spring 1974), 1-13.
 21. Lizabeth A. Cohen, "Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885-1915," Journal of American Culture, III(Winter 1980), 752-775. For an overview of recent studies, see the extensive bibliography in Schlereth, Material Culture, 341-352.
 22. Thomas J. Schlereth, Artifacts and the American Past (Nashville, 1980).
 23. Kathleen N. Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accomodation and Community in a Frontier City (Cambridge, 1976), 231-244.
 24. Turner first stated his famous thesis in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1893 (Washington, 1894), 199-227.

25. Jack D. Forbes, "Frontiers in American History and the Role of the Frontier Historian," Ethnohistory, XV(Spring 1968), 203-204; John C. Parish, The Persistence of the Westward Movement and Other Essays (Berkeley, 1943), 36-37.
26. A particularly insightful essay is Robert F. Berkhofer, "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," Agricultural History, XXXVIII(Jan., 1964), 21-30; also see Gene M. Gressley, "The Turner Thesis--A Problem in Historiography," Agricultural History, XXXII (Oct. 1958), 227-249; Ray A. Billington and Martin Ridge, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier, 5th Edition (New York, 1982), 704-706; Roy L. Lokken, "The Turner Thesis: Criticism and Defense," Social Studies, XXXII(Dec., 1941), 356-58, 362-65; J. A. Burkhard, "The Turner Thesis: A Historian's Controversy," Wisconsin Magazine of History, XXXI(Sept., 1947), 70-83; Fred A. Shannon, "A Post Mortem on the Labor-Safety Valve Theory," Agricultural History, XIX (Jan., 1945), 31-38; Charles A. Beard, "The Frontier in American History," New Republic, 97(Feb., 1939), 359-362; Richard Hofstadter, "Turner and the Frontier Myth," American Scholar, XVIII(Autumn 1949), 433-43.
27. See, Roy A. Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (New York, 1949).
28. Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill, 1975), 8; James Axtell, "Invading America: Puritans and Jesuits," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XIV(Winter 1984), 635-36.
29. Henry N. Smith, Virgin Land, the American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge, 1950); A. Irving Hallowell, "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture," W. D. Wyman and C. B. Kroeber, eds., The Frontier in Perspective (Madison, 1957), 237; Jennings, Invasion of America, 15; William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York, 1983), 12; Alfred W. Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXXIII(April 1976) 289-299; Henry F. Dobyns, "Brief Perspective on a Scholarly Transformation: Widowing the 'Virgin' Land," Ethnohistory, XXIII(Spring 1976), 95-104.
30. Jennings, Invasion of America, 173-174; also see, James P. Ronda, Lewis and Clark and the Indians (Lincoln, 1985) and G. Malcolm Lewis, "Indian Maps," C. M. Judd and A. J. Ray, eds., Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference (Toronto, 1980), 9-23.
31. Axtell, "Invading America," 638
32. A sample of the literature would include: Cynthia J. Manning, "An Ethnohistory of the Kootenai Indians," M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1983, 3-4, 50; William Mulloy, The Hagen Site: A Prehistoric Village on the Lower Yellowstone (Missoula, 1942), Ken Deaver, ed., Archaeological Investigations of the Northern Border Pipeline, Montana Segment, Volume III: Interpretations (Eugene, 1983); Robert H. Lowie, The Crow Indians (New York, 1935), 274; John C. Ewers, The Horse in Blackfoot Culture, Bulletin 159, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1955); Stuart

- A. Chalfant, "Aboriginal Territories of the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and Kootenai Indians of Western Montana," Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians II (New York, 1974), 25-116; Catherine M. Cameron, "Chipped Stone Procurement and the Archaeology of the Nevada Creek Drainage," Paper Presented to the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Montana Archaeological Society, 1-14; Leslie Davis, et al., Stone Circles in the Montana Rockies (Bozeman, 1982); Sherri Deaver, ed., Butte District Archaeology: A Class I Inventory of Prehistoric Resources (Billings, 1984); Lawrence L. Loendorf, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Pryor Mountains," Ph.d diss., University of Missouri, Columbia, 1973; for studies on the seasonality of Euroamerican culture, see Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II (New York, 1975), I, 257, 266 and Darrett B. Rutman, et al., "Rhythms of Life: Black and White Seasonality in the Early Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XI(Summer 1980), 29-53.
33. Forbes, "Frontiers in American History," 204-205; James Axtell, "A North American Perspective for Colonial History," manuscript copy in author's possession, 14. The essay has been published in The History Teacher, XII(1979), 549-562.
34. John Opie, "Frontier History in Environmental Perspective," J. O. Steffen, ed., The American West: New Perspectives, New Dimensions (Norman, 1979), 20; Forbes, "Frontiers in American History," 207; G. A. Waselkou and R. E. Paul, "Frontiers and Archaeology," North American Archaeologist, II(#4, 1980-81), 309; Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson, eds., The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven, 1981), 7; Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890 (Albuquerque, 1984), xix-xx.
35. Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Ethnohistory: History 'In the Round,'" Ethnohistory, VII(1958), 41,45; Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People (Montreal, 1976), I, 6; Bruce G. Trigger, "Brecht and Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory, XXII(Winter 1975), 54-55; also see, Jennings, Invasion of America, 13. In using such an approach to evidence, "culture" must be clearly defined. The author has adopted the definition of ethnohistorian James Axtell: "an idealized pattern of meanings, values, and norms differentially shared by the members of a society, which can be inferred from the non-instinctive behavior of the group and from the symbolic products of their actions, including material artifacts, language, and social institutions." James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York, 1981), 6.
36. Trigger, "Brecht and Ethnohistory," 55. Also see, Trigger, "Ethnohistory and Archaeology," Ontario Archaeology, XXX(1978), 17-24 and Trigger, "Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian," American Antiquity, XLV(1980), 662-676.
37. Axtell, "North American Perspective," 14-15; Axtell, European and Indian, 6-9; Cronon, Changes in Land, x; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, I, 7, 11-21; Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Writing of American Indian History: A Status Report," Pacific Historical Review, XL(1971), 268-275; Francis Jennings, "A Growing Partnership: Historians, Anthropologists, and American

Indian History," The History Teacher, XIII(1980), 87-104.

38. Natalie Z. Davis, "The Possibilities of the Past," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XII(Autumn 1981), 275; Jakle, "Time, Space, and Geographic Past," 1085-1086; D. W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," American Historical Review, 83(Dec., 1978), 1186-88. Bruce G. Trigger, "Archaeology and Ethnographic Present," Anthropologica, XXIII(1981), 3.
39. Meinig, "Continuous Shaping," 1193.
40. Marshall D. Sahlins, "Culture and Environment: The Study of Cultural Ecology," R. A. Manners and Donald Kaplan, eds., Theory in Anthropology (Chicago, 1968), 367-73; Bennett, Ecological Transition, 3. Also See, Opie, "Environmental Perspective," 11-13.
41. George Wolfskill, "Walter Prescott Webb and The Great Plains: Then and Now," Reviews in American History, XII(June 1984), 300; Cronon, Changes in Land, vii-viii. Donald Worster believes that environmental history has the potential to be "a major intellectual enterprise that will alter considerably our understanding of historical processes." Worster, "History as Natural History: An Essay on Theory and Method," Pacific Historical Review, LIII(Feb., 1984), 2.
42. Rhys Isaac, "The New England Mentalite: Ecologies, Structures, and Longues Durees from Algonquian to Yankee," Reviews in American History, XII(June 1984), 170.
43. John A. Kouwenhoven, "American Studies: Words or Things?" Marshall W. Fiswick, ed., American Studies in Transition (Philadelphia, 1964), 16.
44. John P. Demos, "Words and Things," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XL(Oct. 1983), 584-597. There are two useful definitions of a landscape. To John Stilgoe, the term means "shaped land, land modified for permanent human occupation, for dwelling, agriculture, manufacturing, government, worship, and for pleasure. A landscape happens not by chance but by contrivance, by premeditation, by design." A more comprehensive definition is that of Rhys Isaac: "any terrain or living space that has been subjected to the requirements of a conscious or unconscious design." John R. Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845 (New Haven, 1982), 3; Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill, 1981), 19. D. W. Meinig describes cultural landscape as "the result of the domestication of a particular kind of country by a particular group of immigrants that imprinted the area with a geometry, morphology, and architecture of settlement; introduced a selection of crops, animals, technology, and economic activities; and created particular patterns of ecological alteration." Meinig, "Continuous Shaping," 1191.
45. Isaac, Transformation of Virginia, 19.

A map of Montana showing county boundaries and names. The map is divided into eight numbered regions. Region 1 is in the northwest, Region 2 in the north-central, Region 3 in the west-central, Region 4 in the central, Region 5 in the east-central, Region 6 in the southwest, Region 7 in the south-central, and Region 8 in the southeast. Major cities like Helena, Butte, Great Falls, and Missoula are marked. The map is oriented with North at the top.

SECTION II: THE GEOGRAPHIC, CHRONOLOGICAL, AND THEMATIC PARAMETERS OF THE MONTANA RESOURCE PROTECTION PLANNING PROCESS

The historic contexts for the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process are defined by three considerations: geographic, chronological, and thematic. Section II details these parameters and offers a justification for their selection and inclusion as the Montana historic contexts.

GEOGRAPHIC (see Map I)

Eight separate geographic regions, with the boundaries following traditional political boundaries set in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, comprise the geographic parameters of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process. By adopting political division points, however, the Montana Historic Preservation Office closely considered prehistoric and historic activity and the topography when establishing each of the geographic regions. From the Paleoindian period to the present age, the geographic boundaries of human activity have constantly changed. Clearly, the Office could have designated over 100 geographic boundaries for different time periods and categories of human activity. But the Montana Historic Preservation Office, for the following reasons, concluded that the most manageable RP3 would be one with eight strictly defined geographic regions. First, if the Montana RP3 is to be utilized by as many state and local agencies as possible, it must be readily adaptable to decision-making processes already in place. County and state officials will not use a document that vaguely defines geographic boundaries, dividing a given county into two or more sections with no one certain what the precise boundaries are. They would conclude, with some justification, that such a plan was too cumbersome to be of value. Second, following political boundaries means that there will be little, if any dispute over the jurisdiction of each region. Cultural resource managers will know at a glance which geographic section of the Montana RP3 they must use in making their decisions; there will be no need to refer to detailed and complicated maps which would outline the boundaries of the region in question. Third, the Smithsonian classification system is also keyed by county. Entering the almost 20,000 sites in Montana that have Smithsonian numbers into a computer program based on the historic contexts of the Montana RP3, if such a policy is deemed necessary in the future, will be much easier if the geographic parameters follow the same boundaries as does the Smithsonian system. Fourth, each of the eight regions also roughly delineates a particular topographic region of Montana, which has defined and shaped patterns of human activity throughout recorded time. This fourth rationale proved to be so crucial to the development of the geographic boundaries of the Montana RP3 that in the following paragraphs, the author provides a brief topographic, prehistoric, and historic justification for each of the eight regions.

Region I: Northeastern Montana

Northeastern Montana contains Blaine, Phillips, Valley, Daniels, Sheridan, and Roosevelt counties. It is the upper section of the Missouri River in Montana which defines the southern border of the region; the international boundary with Canada defines the northern border while the eastern border is defined by the boundary with North Dakota. Running through the center of the region is the largest section of the Milk River Valley in Montana, important to both Native Americans for hunting and to Euroamericans for

farming. Archaeological and historic resource studies indicate that the Milk River Valley was a center of human activity for thousands of years. Not all archaeological studies in the area can be discussed here but one recent archaeological survey of northern Valley and Phillips counties, Ken Deaver and Stephen Aaberg's Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Kansas-Nebraska Pipeline Project Area (1977), is more comprehensive in scope and provides important information useful in this regional overview. Deaver and Aaberg suggest the patterns of prehistoric activity in northeastern Montana. They identified nine ecological zones in the region that appear to have relevance to archaeological site distribution: 1) ordinary uplands 2) uplands in swales 3) ordinary lowlands 4) lowlands in saline depressions 5) uplands next to brush 6) lowlands next to brush 7) riparian woodlands (which were not inventoried) 8) streams and lakes without trees and 9) thinly vegetated erosional basins. Their survey of 13,357 acres indicated a marked prehistoric preference for the first three ecological zones, with 70 percent of the sites in Phillips County and 61 percent of the sites in Valley County located in the ordinary uplands zone. The topography of northeastern Montana clearly influenced prehistoric settlement patterns. In 1983, Ken Deaver released his Re-evaluation of Prehistoric Sites Located Along the Proposed WAPA Fort Peck to Havre Transmission Line which identified several research problems pertinent to northern Montana archaeology. These research problems are useful for guiding studies in the area and are flexible enough to change as new techniques and information become available. Chart III summarizes Deaver's framework for analyzing shallow feature sites. The questions indicate the future direction of archaeological analysis of shallow feature sites and they may be applicable to other sections of Montana.¹

In the protohistoric and historic period, Cree, Atsina (Gros Ventre), Assiniboiné, and Blackfoot Confederacy occupied and utilized the land, with the geographic barrier of the Missouri River largely defining the southernmost extent of their activity in the region. At times, the Crow also hunted in this land. In the nineteenth century, the United States government initially designated the land as a reserve for the Blackfoot Confederacy. Later in the century, the government carved two separate and permanent reservations out of the region: the Fort Peck (for Northern Assiniboiné and Sioux) and the Fort Belknap (for Southern Assiniboiné and Atsina). One of the primary reasons the western boundary of the region is the division between Hill and Blaine counties is that to exclude Blaine County would separate the Southern and Northern Assiniboiné. There were also several bands of landless Native Americans living in different sections of the region during the nineteenth century.²

The construction of the Great Northern Railroad in the 1880s brought Euroamerican settlers to the region in great numbers. The passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 would eventually open the door to even more settlers. Once reservation land was thrown open to settlers during the homesteading boom of the early twentieth century, the landscape underwent a significant change as Euroamerican land-use patterns (as represented by the township grid) replaced the traditional patterns of the Native Americans. Checkerboard-like cultivated fields soon dominated the region. At that time state officials divided the region into the five counties that comprise it today. Another important development during the early twentieth century was the use of the Milk River for a complex irrigation system which watered much of Northern Montana.³

Chart III: Research Problems to Which Shallow Feature Sites Can Contribute Significant Information.

Source: Ken Deaver, Re-evaluation of Prehistoric Sites Located Along the Proposed WAPA Fort Peck to Havre Transmission Line (1983)

I. "Problems of Temporal Context

- A. During what time spans was the site, local area, and region occupied?
- B. During which season(s) or time(s) of the year was the site and local area occupied?"

II. "Settlement Patterns

- A. What is the spatial arrangement and environmental distribution of different site types in the region and local area at any particular time?
- B. Which particular activities took place in each occupation at a site and how do these relate to other sites in the area?
- C. What was the group size and the relationship between all occupants of the site at a given time and what was their ~~relationship with~~ other site occupants at the same site or others in the local area?"

III. "Subsistence Patterns

- A. What were the region/local procurement strategies for plant and animal resources?
- B. What specific plants and animals contributed to the diet at particular site occupations and how are these related to documentable food sources at other nearby sites in the local area?"

IV. "Lithic Technology

- A. Which tools occur and how were implements manufactured and used by each group of site occupants?
- B. How are different raw materials used for tools by each group of site occupants and what is the source of each material?"

V. "Native American Concerns

- A. Are the sites considered sacred or religious by contemporary Native American groups?"

Region 2: Southeastern Montana

The region contains Richland, Dawson, Wibaux, Fallon, Carter, McCone, Prairie, Custer, Powder River, Garfield, Rosebud, and Treasure counties. The Missouri River defines the northern border of the region while two of its principal tributaries in Montana, the Mussellshell and the Yellowstone rivers, respectively, define the western boundary and the center portion of the region. The eastern boundary is the border between Montana and the Dakotas. These boundaries create a topographic region where human activity has largely centered on the Yellowstone River Valley, a stretch of fertile land surrounded by Montana's most desolate terrain. Because human beings have often concentrated their activity along the Yellowstone Valley, this region is often described in popular periodicals and histories as the Lower Yellowstone Country. Recent archaeological investigations have also indicated substantial prehistoric use of major Yellowstone tributaries such as Rosebud Creek area and the Tongue River Valley. While the major river basins of the region (Yellowstone, Rosebud, Tongue, and Powder) were important hunting areas to the prehistoric Native Americans, early use of other topographic features cannot be discounted. Unfortunately, detailed knowledge of prehistoric land use is sketchy and incomplete. But Michael Beckes and James Keyser's overview of the Custer National Forest presents a thorough analysis of prehistoric lifeways in the Ashland Ranger District. While evidence of Paleoindian activity is present in the district, it is scanty. Beckes and Keyser summarize that Paleoindian hunters utilized the Pine Parklands ecological zone "with a hunting and foraging economy not far different" from that of Archaic groups. Cultural resources dating to the Archaic period within the district are greater in number. The evidence that Beckes and Keyser compiled suggests that people at this time lived in groups of less than twenty. They "exploited a wide variety of plant and animal food resources in a loosely defined seasonal round of activities." Contact with outsiders was rare, usually occurring only during the communal bison hunting season. During these communal gatherings, however, "religious ceremonies would have been conducted to maintain group stability and societal integration." The patterns of exploitation in the Ashland district changed from the Late Archaic period to the Late Prehistoric period. Beckes and Keyser believe that the differences between the two periods "are not so much in the exploitation of specific ecozones, since numerous ecozones can be exploited from most sites, and the sites of both periods occur in relatively similar proportions in most ecozones. Instead, the differences appear to be in the overall focus of the general settlement pattern, with the Late Prehistoric groups emphasizing utilization of the open plains and major river valleys, and the Late Archaic groups utilizing the upland econzones to a greater degree." For the protohistoric period and part of the historic period, the Crow and Shoshoni occupied much of the territory, considering the Yellowstone River Valley to be the heart of their territory. In the nineteenth century, however, the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux began to push into the eastern section of the region, often hunting in the Tongue and Powder river valleys and pushing the Crows to the west. In the 1880s, the federal government established a reservation for the Northern Cheyenne, but it set aside no land for the Sioux who had also occupied the territory in the mid-1800s.⁴

The section of the Yellowstone River Valley from the confluence of the Yellowstone and Bighorn (on the western border of the region) to the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri (on the eastern border of the region) at

the boundary between Montana and North Dakota) was the territory of Montana most influenced by the fur trade of the early 1800s because of the region's proximity to traditional Crow habitations and the tributaries' relative richness in fur-bearing animals. This section of the Yellowstone River also proved to be the only navigable part of the river, with the eastern border at the present-day town of Custer marking a physical barrier to successful steamboat expeditions. In the 1870s, the United States Military built permanent installations near present-day Terry and Miles City to take advantage of the steamboat opportunities afforded by the Lower Yellowstone River. The Northern Pacific Railroad also entered Montana Territory in this region, following the Yellowstone River to the west. Since the railroad established a reliable transportation link to eastern markets, Euroamericans at this time moved into southeastern Montana in large numbers. Recognizing that the land outside the river basins was not suited for agriculture, they used the natural grasslands that surrounded the river for stock-raising enterprises. Ranching is still a leading occupation today, although the homesteading boom of the first two decades of the twentieth century led to some farming. But the badland quality of much of the topography resulted in few farming successes in Dawson, McCone and Garfield counties. The homesteaders did not have the lasting impact of the landscape here as they did in other regions of Montana, although some of those who remained benefited from the oil discoveries of the middle twentieth century. During the homestead era state officials created the twelve counties that now comprise the region.⁵

Region 3: Northcentral Montana

The region contains Hill, Chouteau, Cascade, Teton, Liberty, Toole and Glacier counties. The northern boundary is the international border with Canada. But the western border is both a topographical and political division since the continental divide of the Rocky Mountains--for centuries an important physical barrier to human activity--constitutes the dividing line. The Missouri River and county boundaries define the southern border. This region contains the center portion of the Missouri River in Montana along with the entire Marias River Valley and the Sun River Valley. Archaeological and historical resource studies indicate that human activity over time has concentrated along the rivers, although there is the strong possibility that, similar to the northeastern region, there was substantial prehistoric utilization of the resources of the uplands. Much archaeological evaluation is needed, however, before definite prehistoric patterns can be established. One study which indicates the nature of prehistoric settlement patterns in north-central Montana is Ken Deaver's Site Distribution in the Fresno and Nelson Reservoir Areas (1981), a survey of the Fresno and Nelson reservoirs of the Milk River Valley. He concluded that "in general, the more an area deviates from the attributes of the xeric uplands, the lower and more casual its utilization" by prehistoric groups. Deaver discovered a few lowlands occupation sites, but noted that even these were either located at "the base of a bluff immediately below an upland habitation site" or "on dry, open terraces above adjacent floodplain locations." Deaver pointed out that he uncovered "no evidence of habitation-related activity in floodplain locations" in over 100,000 surveyed acres. While admitting that this lack of evidence may be related partially to the burial of sites in the depositional environment of floodplains, he concluded that "the disadvantages of the uplands (exposure to wind, lack of plant food products, lack of permanent water) appear to have been preferable to those of the lowlands (biting insects

in the summer, deep snow banks and lower winter temperatures, seasonal or continual moistness), at least for habitation-related activities." Deaver also noted that "prehistoric inhabitants did not neglect lowland locations entirely. They not only needed the stones and game herds present in the uplands, but also required the water and plant resources available in lowland areas." Consequently, prehistoric groups often located "in an 'ecotonal' situation where both sets of resources are close." They could also make major moves to each ecological zones, but since prehistoric groups who owned horses moved, at best, every couple of weeks, Deaver doubts that prehistoric groups before the acquisition of the horse made frequent camp moves.⁶

In the proto-historic and historic periods, the land was largely the domain of the Blackfoot Confederacy, particularly the Pigeon Indians, who moved at times to the rich hunting region around the headwaters of the Missouri River but who largely remained north of the Missouri and east of the continental divide. The Atsina also hunted in this territory, recognizing many of the same topographical boundaries as the Piegan. In the nineteenth century, the federal government initially designated most of the land north of the Missouri and east of the continental divide as a reserve for the Blackfoot Confederacy. But the pressure of an expanding Euroamerican population led to revisions of the reservation's boundaries until they reached their present limits. In the early 1900s the federal government created the Rocky Boy Reservation for Cree and Chippewa landless Indians who lived in several parts of northern Montana.⁷

Northcentral Montana is the location of Fort Benton, the head of navigation of the Missouri River, which served as the dominant trading center of Montana throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Nearby Fort Benton, especially at the mouth of the Marias River, were the other major fur trade posts on the Missouri River. In the 1870s to 1880s the federal government built Fort Assiniboine, which, along with the construction of the Great Northern Railroad from Havre to Great Falls, spurred Euroamerican settlement. Once again, land use patterns created by the township grid replaced the landscape of the Native Americans and the fur traders. The important railroad link between Havre and Great Falls served to connect Great Falls to the economy of Northern Montana, establishing it as the region's dominant trade center. The resulting commercial and transportation network is the major reason why Cascade County is included in northcentral Montana. The homesteaders also found much to like in this land and they settled it in large numbers during the early 1900s, especially along the Milk River Valley from Havre to the eastern border of the region and along the extended Great Northern line to the west, from Havre to the Marias Pass (on the western border of the region). This period witnessed the phenomenon of county-splitting which led to the creation of the seven counties of northcentral Montana.⁸

Region 4: Central Montana

The region contains Fergus, Petroleum, Musselshell, Golden Valley, Wheatland, Judith Basin, and Meagher counties. Topographic features which have influenced the patterns of human activity include the Musselshell River, which defines the eastern and much of the southern boundaries of the region, the Missouri River, which defines a portion of the northern boundary, the Judith River, which flows through the region's center, and the Judith Mountains, an important source of timber to Native American and Euroamerican alike and a source of mineral wealth, which acted as a magnet for early Euroamerican settlers. The rivers particularly define a particular topographic area--best described

as central Montana--that Montanans have identified as the Judith Basin for well over a century. The dominant feature, however, is the rolling plains encompassed in this area, an ideal habitat for wild game and land that possesses rich top soil. The river basins created by the Judith and Musselshell rivers were probably the setting for the greatest concentration of human activity compared to other parts of the region. Yet, archaeological surveys in the rolling plains of Fergus Counties indicate a substantial level of prehistoric activity. At this time, there is not enough evidence to determine exact patterns of occupation and land use. But George Ruebelmann's archaeological study of the Lewistown Bureau of Land Management district hypothesized that, in general, prehistoric habitations in central Montana "were oriented to subsistence needs, i. e. near the most important resources primarily. Security and visibility may have played a role in specific location selection." In addition, Ruebelmann believes that the prehistoric groups who exploited the central Montana environment were small in number and probably exploited the region in seasonal transhumance patterns, leading to centrally-based settlements which could be occupied for extended periods. In the proto-historic period, the Shoshoni and Crow crossed the Missouri and Musselshell rivers to occupy the territory at different places and times. During the historic period, however, no Native American group clearly occupied, or claimed, the land, although the Crow and Blackfoot Confederacy often bitterly contested its rich hunting grounds. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Metis moved into the Lewistown area. Today, central Montana contains no Native American reservations.⁹

The first Euroamerican settlers included traders who used the Carroll and Fort Benton to Helena trails, miners who explored the Judith Mountains, and ranchers who joined in the cattle boom of the 1880s, exploiting the rich grasslands which had once been Native American hunting grounds. Utilization of the natural resources at this time was not extensive; over grazing was the most significant environmental disruption. Not until the homesteading boom would most of the region be populated and land use patterns would assume



Tracks of the Milwaukee Road, Glengarry, Fergus County

the characteristics of the township grid. The Milwaukee Road built through the Musselshell Valley in the first decade of the twentieth century and this railroad, along with the Great Northern, constructed branch lines throughout central Montana. County splitting in the region led to the establishment of seven counties by 1920.¹⁰

Region 5: Southcentral Montana

The region includes Park, Sweetgrass, Stillwater, Yellowstone, and Carbon counties, and Big Horn County. County boundaries mark the northern and western borders; the border between Montana and Wyoming is the southern boundary. It is often called the Upper Yellowstone River Valley because the Yellowstone River passes through the center of the region with several major tributaries, most notably the Bighorn River, touching almost every part of southcentral Montana. Archaeological studies to date show that prehistoric and historic activity was centered along the Yellowstone, its tributaries, and the river basins. But archaeological inventories of the Pryor Mountains and Bighorn Canyon indicate heavy use of that landscape, in a seasonal transhumance pattern, by Native Americans over thousands of years. The same might be true for the other high country regions. For the Beartooth district of the Custer National Forest, Beckes and Keyser found scarce representation of Paleoindian groups, but the evidence that does exist "suggests repeated occupations by small groups of hunters who traveled long distances each year in the pursuit of large game animals." For the Archaic period, Beckes and Keyser concluded that "use of the Forest seems to have been by small groups exploiting a wide variety of food resources in environmental settings that range from the open plains to the subalpine meadows above timberline. In the Early and Middle Archaic, exploitation seems to have focused on small game (and probably plant foods), but newly acquired data suggests a reemphasis on hunting large game animals in the Late Archaic." The Late Prehistoric period in the Beartooth district, the authors believe, "was a time of complex population movements, technological innovations, and social change." Perhaps the most important population movements were those of Shoshonean and Crow groups. Shoshonean occupations date to perhaps the 1300s. In the protohistoric and historic period, the Shoshoni and Crow groups occupied much of the territory. By the 1880s, the period of Shoshoni domination came to an end and the land became known as Crow Country, with reservation agencies first established on the Yellowstone River and later on a major Yellowstone tributary, the Stillwater.¹¹ Currently, the Crow Indian Reservation is located along the Big Horn River.

Euroamerican settlement, on a long term basis, dates to the 1870s and the region experienced its first population boom in the early 1880s when the Northern Pacific Railroad followed the Yellowstone River to the West. State officials created the first counties of southcentral Montana at this time. During the late 1880s and early 1900s, the development of major coal mine properties in Carbon and Park counties and precious metal mines in the high country near the border with Yellowstone National Park took place. The territory experienced a second economic boom during the homesteading era of the early 1900s when Euroamericans occupied the region's uplands in sizeable numbers, and remaining lands along the river valleys. At that time, the present county boundaries were established.¹²

Region 6: Northwestern Montana

The region contains Lincoln, Flathead, Sanders, Mineral, Lake, Ravalli and Missoula counties. The border between Idaho and Montana is the western

boundary- while the international division between Canada and Montana is the northern boundary and county divisions and the continental divide comprise the eastern border. All of this territory is west of the continental divide, connecting the two valleys which have played the most significant role in the history of western Montana: the Bitterroot and Flathead valleys. Major basins include those created by Flathead Lake (both the Upper and Lower Flathead Valleys), the Clark's Fork River, the Kootenai River, the Flathead River, and the Bitterroot River. The terrain of northwestern Montana is mountainous and heavily timbered at several locations. While recent evidence indicates that prehistoric Native Americans adapted themselves to such an environment quite capably, utilizing it to a greater degree than previously assumed, archaeological surveys also show that most prehistoric activity, and historic period activity, took place along or nearby the river basins. One of the most thorough archaeological surveys took place in the Kootenai Canyon of Lincoln County. Since the availability of food resources was closely tied to the seasons of the year, with the late spring and summer months being a time of dramatically decreased food resources, the canyon probably did not support large prehistoric groups on an annual basis. As Tom Roll and Craig Henry conclude, "the most reasonable subsistence regime appears to be one in which the people practiced a seasonal round that called for relative aggregation of populations in the river bottoms during late fall-early spring and population dispersion throughout the rest of the year." Prehistoric groups adopted such a subsistence strategy because from the late fall to the spring, game animals congregated in the river valley and lowlands and became easy prey because of the heavy snowfalls of that particular ecozone. There is much to be analyzed concerning prehistoric use of northwestern Montana. Any attempt to generalize about prehistoric patterns is dangerous until more is known about land use in topographic areas outside of the river basins.¹³

In the protohistoric and historic periods, the Kootenai, Kalispell, Pend d'Oreille, and Flathead Indians occupied the land, usually crossing the continental divide to hunt bison on the plains of eastern Montana no more than twice a year. The Kootenai lived in the northwest corner, along the Kootenai River. The Kalispell and Pend d'Oreille occupied parts of the Flathead Valley while the Flathead were residents of the Bitterroot Valley of Missoula and Ravalli counties. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the federal government moved the Flathead to the Flathead Valley where they joined the other three tribes on the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Reservation.¹⁴

Another important historic justification is that each of the fur trade posts managed by the Canadian-based North West Company and the London-based Hudson's Bay Company in Montana territory were located in northwestern Montana, from a temporary winter camp in the southern tip of the Bitterroot Valley called Ross' Hole to Fort Connah in the Flathead Valley and to Saleesh House along the Clark's Fork River. In the 1840s and the 1850s, the first permanent permanent Euroamerican establishments appeared in the Bitterroot Valley: St. Mary's Mission and Fort Owen. Later, the missionary influence would extend northward into the Flathead Valley and the St. Ignatius Mission would be built. The construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad through the center of the region facilitated Euroamerican settlement which was additionally spurred by the construction of the Great Northern Railroad in the Upper Flathead Valley and the Milwaukee Road along the old route of the Mullan military road. The homesteading boom had a marked effect on the region, leading to the creation of several new counties from the Flathead Indian

Reservation in the early decades of the twentieth century. The settlers discovered that the Bitterroot and Flathead valleys are among the most productive agricultural lands in the northwest. Fruit cultivation became an important industry in both the Flathead and Bitterroot valleys and the Flathead is still reknowned for its cherries. Of course, the natural resource that set apart northwestern Montana from much of the state was its forests, containing the most valuable timber stands in Montana.¹⁵

Region 7: Midwestern Montana

The region has land both east and west of the continental divide and comprises the counties of Lewis and Clark, Broadwater, Powell, Granite, Deer Lodge, Silver Bow, and Jefferson counties. County boundaries account for its borders. It also has three major basins, the Deer Lodge Valley west of the divide and east of the divide, the Prickly Pear Valley and the Missouri River basin south of the town of Winston in Broadwater County. Valleys created by Flint Creek and the Boulder River have been of secondary importance.

The impact of mining and farming has destroyed much archaeological evidence about the prehistoric use of these topographic features. A recent survey suggests, however, that Native American occupation and utilization of the region was substantial in the prehistoric and protohistoric periods. In Butte District Archaeology: A Class I Inventory of Prehistoric Resources, Sherri Deaver and others reviewed archaeological and ethnographical data pertaining to western Montana (an area almost identical in scope to regions six, seven, and eight of this report; the conclusions given here also apply to regions six and eight). They concluded that while western Montana is environmentally diverse, two areas in particular have witnessed substantial human activity over time: the transmontane and the plains/grasslands environments. "The former," according to Deaver's abstract, "is characterized by high faunal and flora species diversity, but low density of any particular species [and] human adaptations characterized by flexibility, stability and low population density." The plain/grasslands area has a smaller number of species, but contains a "higher density of particular species [such as buffalo]" and has "human adaptations characterized by relative specialization in hunting and fluctuations in population size and density which can be correlated with episodic climatic changes." Similar to other regions, midwestern Montana has scant evidence of Paleoindian activity, although the evidence points toward a slight rise in population by the late Paleoindian period. In the Early and Early Middle Archaic period, however, the Deaver report notes "a decline in intensity of occupation." By the end of the Middle Archaic period, this decline had reversed itself and the area had a higher occupation which peaked at the Pelikan Lake phase. At the beginning of the Late Prehistoric period, however, the intensity of occupation again seems to have decreased in regions east of the Continental Divide. This probably occurred because of the Scandic Climatic Episode which led to a warmer and drier climate east of the divide. By the Old Women's Phase, this occupation trend had again reversed itself and areas east of the divide witnessed an increased intensity of occupation. The Deaver study agrees with Roll and Henry's evaluation of the Kootenai Canyon: the intensity of occupation in transmontane areas stayed basically the same from the Late Archaic to the Protohistoric period. Clearly, prehistoric sites are not confined solely to the basins but include the high country. Similar to other regions, archaeologists believe that Indian groups utilized this rugged environment in conjunction with that of the lower elevations and valleys, adapting their lifeways to the resources available at a given time in a

given place. Perhaps the greatest value of Deaver's Butte District Archaeology is the report's recommendations for future work. These research hypotheses, summarized in Chart IV, will guide future archaeological research in regions six, seven, and eight, enabling scholars to determine with greater precision the prehistoric patterns of habitation and exploitation.¹⁶

Ethnographic records contain evidence of Shoshoni, Flathead, and Piegan occupation. The bottomlands were rich hunting grounds, utilized by several tribes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; often Indian groups from west of the continental divide would cross the mountains so to hunt buffalo on the eastern side of the Rockies. Ethnographic accounts claim, for example that the Nez Perce of Idaho and Washington often crossed the divide to gather supplies of buffalo meat and hides.¹⁷

Chart IV: Preliminary and Provisional Research Hypotheses for Butte BLM District

Source: Sherri Deaver, ed., Butte District Archaeology: A Class I Inventory (1984)

For research questions analyzing the "relationship between site size/population aggregation, reuse of habitation localities/episodic siting decision regularities, the diversity of available resources, and the density of available resources" there are four basic assumptions:

- 1: "There is a random distribution between multi-occupation habitation sites and the diversity of resources available."
- 2: "There is a no correlation between stability/predictability of resources and multi-occupation habitation sites."
- 3: "There is a random distribution between large feature sites and the diversity and/or stability of resources in the immediate locality."
- 4: "There is no correlation between habitation site size and repeated occupation events."

For research questions focusing on "the distribution of artifacts within and between sites" there are two basic assumptions:

- 1: "There is a random distribution of artifacts within, between, and among habitation structures."
- 2: "There is no correlation between the distribution of high energy investment/low portability artifacts (ceramics, ground stone) and multi-occupation sites."

For research questions focusing on subsistence strategies, there are three basic assumptions:

- 1: "There is no correlation between the availability of gregarious species and site size."
- 2: "There is a no correlation between non-mobile resources and multi-occupation sites."
- 3: "There is a random distribution of game trails and trap and blind/pit site types."

General assumptions concerning lithics:

1. "Lithic quarry sites show a random distribution relative to other site types within the district."
- 2: "There is a no correlation between material types utilized and phase affiliation."

For research questions analyzing "the environmental diversity within the district" the researcher assumes:

- 1: "There is a random distribution between faunal assemblages indicating broad spectrum hunting (multiplicity of species) and those indicating specialized hunting (overwhelming predominance of one species) and mountainous and/or grasslands terrain in all periods or any particular period."

The principal justification for this geographic region is that it contains almost all of the major mining districts of western Montana: Butte, Anaconda, Elkhorn, Granite, Phillipsburg, Georgetown, Marysville, Last Chance Gulch, Garnet, Comet, Wickes, Corbin, Gold Creek-Pioneer, Diamond City and Radersburg (these last two districts largely explain why the region includes Broadwater County). Indeed, the region's second railroad, the Montana Central, was constructed to connect the prosperous mines to the processing and trade center of Great Falls; consequently, its tracks passed through the center of the region. The establishment of the region's seven counties date to the late 1800s and Montana's mining boom.¹⁸

Region 8: Southwestern Montana

Only three counties make up this region--Beaverhead, Madison, and Gallatin--but the territory contains three major rivers which combine to form the headwaters of the Missouri River. The state boundaries between Montana and Idaho and Wyoming comprise, respectively, the western and southern boundaries; county divisions account for the remainder of the region's borders. Archaeological surveys have discovered intensive prehistoric occupation of the basins created by the Ruby, Madison, Gallatin, and Jefferson Rivers. There was also substantial utilization of the uplands and higher elevations of the territory, although there remains much to investigate in these topographic areas. Like the other seven regions, there is insufficient evidence to determine exact prehistoric patterns of occupation at this time. But the conclusions and research hypotheses established in Sherri Deaver's Butte District Archaeology (see the discussion for region seven and Chart IV above) apply to this region. In the late protohistoric and early historic periods, this was a prime habitat for fur-bearing animals, receiving much attention from Native American and Euroamerican fur traders. By the early 1800s, the Blackfoot Confederacy controlled the rich fur-bearing lands nearby the Three Forks of the Missouri River and had pushed the Shoshoni towards the southwest. Lemhi Shoshoni and other groups who adapted to the rugged environment in a seasonal manner largely utilized the high country and mountains of the Bitterroot mountain range. The Lemhi also traveled eastward in order to receive their annuities at the Crow Agency, leaving several campsites and workshops in their wake. Another primary justification for this region is that during the second half of the nineteenth century the territory was the first in Montana to experience gold rush fever. The first major camp was at Bannack, soon followed by an even larger strike at Virginia City. The first railroad in Montana was the Utah and Northern (Union Pacific) which entered the territory at Monida, passing through the center of the

region until it reached Butte. The Gallatin Valley contained some of the earliest homestead entries in Montana as enterprising settlers flocked to the valley to grow foodstuffs for the hungry miners to the immediate west. Its social and economic connection to the mining camps to the west is the primary historical justification for Gallatin County's inclusion in this region.

Mining and farming remained the key Euroamerican patterns of land use well into the twentieth century.¹⁹

CHRONOLOGICAL (see Chart V)

The prehistoric chronological parameters of the historic contexts follow divisions that reflect a summary of the cultural chronologies established by archaeologists and anthropologists. Before detailing those chronological divisions, however, it is fair to note that the studies on which the chronology was based deal primarily with the eastern plains of Montana. In the mountainous regions of western Montana, the adaptive systems of the Native Americans would have reflected the particular type of environment and although Plains influences are evident (as well as influences from the Basin and Plateaus) groups who occupied this area exhibited their own unique adaptive responses to the demands and potential of that environment.

Another important point to remember is that the cultural chronologies in archaeological literature are heavily dependent on the morphological characteristics of a single artifact type, projectile points. Artifact typology is a critical analytical tool for archaeologists and the shapes of projectile points are useful for determining the approximate occupation date of sites from which they are derived. Morphological types are also viewed as cultural indicators based on the assumption that individuals who share a common cultural background are subject to that culture's normative behavioral processes. Consequently, scholars assume that similar looking projectile points were made by members of the same culture and that different looking projectile points were made by individuals of different cultures. This general hypothesis is a useful concept in anthropology but its practical application in the construction of prehistoric cultural chronologies imposes severe limitations to our interpretative abilities and our understanding of cultural process and change. When taken to an extreme, the assumption results in the establishment of "projectile point cultures" based almost solely on the interpretation of point types. Such a conclusion fails, therefore, to account for the vast array of factors which comprise any given culture, factors which indeed are constantly changing throughout time. It also fails to provide mechanisms for explaining the changes that are apparent in the archaeological record. In other words, cultural chronologies derived from such a methodology can become static typologies that depend on concepts such as the invention and diffusion of traits to describe change rather than providing mechanisms to view culture as a dynamic adaptive process whose variation is measured and explained in behavioral and terms. The task for archaeologists is more than characterizing the adaptive cultural systems of the past; archaeologists should try to explain the variations in those systems. While developing analytical frameworks that allow for creative investigations of culture process and change is quite a challenge, it is a challenge worth pursuing.

People have probably inhabited the North American continent for at least 20,000 years. In Montana, archaeologists have found evidence indicating human occupation for about 12,000 years. The earliest groups to inhabit the area are known as Paleoindian; the earliest identified cultural complex is known as Clovis which is distinguished by a diagnostic type of relatively large lanceolate projectile point that exhibits flake scars extending from

the base toward the center of the point. Archaeologists believe that these "fluted" points were used by groups of nomadic hunters who focused on the procurement of large game animals, especially the mammoth. As environmental conditions changed, these large animals as well as many other species became extinct, forcing changes in the adaptive systems of the people inhabiting the area. Changes in technology reflect these changes in adaptive systems. In Montana, another fluted point complex known as Folsom appears to have replaced the Clovis complex. The Folsom complex dates to about 10,500 years ago and also appears to represent groups of nomadic hunters. These hunters focused on the procurement of large, now-extinct, forms of bison. Other Paleoindian cultural complexes also developed at approximately the same time (such as the Agate Basin, Hell Gap, Cody, and Windust) and they extend beyond the end of fluted point manufacture. The reasons for the disappearance of fluted point technologies is uncertain but probably relates to changing environmental conditions, population increases, adaptation to a variety of ecological situations, changing hunting strategies, and technological innovation.

From about 5500 B. C. to 3000 B. C. the climate of Montana underwent a warming and drying trend known as the Altithermal. Although archaeologists know that environmental conditions changed during this time, generally becoming warmer and dryer, they do not yet understand the intensity of these changes or their effects on local populations of game species, vegetation, or human groups. Archaeological investigations have identified a few sites dating to the early period of this climatic shift, attributing the human occupations to the Early Archaic period. The investigation of sites from this chronological period indicate the development of side-notched projectile point styles and a greater emphasis in the exploitation of game animals other than the bison. But so few sites dating to this time have been found that some archaeologists have postulated an occupational hiatus in the Northern and Northwestern Plains due to adverse climatic conditions and a corresponding drastic reduction in the numbers of bison in the Plains. Other archaeologists hypothesize that while the Altithermal conditions reduced the bison-carrying capacity of the Plains environment, not all human populations moved into surrounding mountainous regions. Rather, sufficient numbers of bison remained on the Plains to enable some groups to continue to exploit bison and other animals on a seasonal basis; other groups probably stayed on the Plains year round, focusing on permanent water sources and other areas which game frequented on a reliable basis. That so few sites are found dating to the Early Archaic/Altithermal period may be attributed to reduced populations and carrying capacity and an increase in soil erosion and desposition, thus obscuring many of these sites. Another reason could be that the sample of archaeologically surveyed areas is inadequate for making reliable interpretations of this period.

The Middle Archaic period (approximately 3000 B. C. to 1000 B. C.) witnessed an amelioration of climatic conditions in the early portion of this chronological period to essentially modern conditions. A veritable population explosion is evident in the increased numbers and sizes of sites attributable to the early portion of this time period. Projectile points from these sites are often characterized as part of the McKean complex. Groups associated with this cultural complex also used roasting pits, sandstone grinding stones and sandstone manos in at least some areas of Montana. While they depended on vegetal foods to a significant degree, their utilization of plant resources does not mean they did not hunt game animals. Rather the evidence suggests that the groups used the resources of the environment

in a very efficient manner, exploiting a given ecological zone at the most advantageous season. Projectile points that are considered a variation of the McKean complex include the McKean lanceolate, Duncan, Hanna, and Yonkee types. By approximately 1,000 B. C., the Pelican Lake phase appeared in the northern plains. This complex is distinguished by true corner-notched projectile points that are found throughout the state. In the last centuries of the Archaic period, the Besant phase appeared. Extremely sophisticated bison hunting techniques and a distinctive side-notched type of projectile point characterized this complex. Evidence suggests that this prehistoric group utilized bison corrals; there is also substantial archaeological evidence of religious activity among these people.

The development and widespread use of the bow and arrow primarily characterizes the Late Prehistoric Period (500 A. D. to 1600 A. D.). Projectile points used during this time are smaller because of their use of arrow shafts. What instigated this widespread technological shift in hunting tools is not clear, but the transition was rapid and irreversible. Pottery use also became relatively common at this time, perhaps owing to some groups becoming more sedentary. Other prehistoric groups, however, continued their transhumance rounds as their primary settlement strategy and emphasized the procurement of bison.

The earliest arrow point in Montana that can be identified reliably is the Avonlea. The point type is small, finely made, and exhibits side-notches placed very low on the blade near the base. In some cases, Avonlea points are notched at, or very near, the corners giving the point a corner-notched appearance. Point types identified as subsequent to Avonlea include Prairie side-notched, Late Plains side-notched, and Late Plains tri-notched (it has a third notch centered at the base of the point).

The introduction of the horse to Plains groups and the increasing availability of Euroamerican trade goods characterize the Protohistoric Period (1600-1800 A. D.). Scholars continue to debate the impact of these items on Native American culture. Most likely the changes that occurred in the adaptive strategies of prehistoric groups varied. Some groups probably experienced drastic changes in mobility, settlement patterns, and social structures while other peoples experienced little change, simply incorporating the new goods into their traditional cultural systems.²⁰

Beginning with 1800 A. D., the chronology follows historical patterns of behavior, with key historical developments for both Native Americans and Euroamericans defining the chronological range. The first division is from 1800 to 1850, a period that begins with the arrival of the Euroamericans. It also marks the era of the fur trade involving Native Americans and the Canadians and Americans. The period ends with the fur trade diminishing in importance and the establishment of the St. Mary's Mission in the 1840s. The second division is from 1850 to 1890. The 1850s and the 1860s are crucial years in Montana history. These years witnessed the end of the fur trade as the primary determinant of Indian-white relations, the establishment of the initial Indian reservations in Montana, and the beginning of the gold rush phenomenon. During the 1870s and 1880s, Native American life changed drastically as warfare, disease, reservation life, and federal legislation continued to diminish their population and land holdings. The Dawes Act, approved by Congress in 1887, and the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890 (which took place in South Dakota) marks the end of a crucial era in Native American history. The years between 1870 and 1890 were also significant for Euroamericans: the arrival of the railroads, the silver boom, and statehood. Moreover, by 1890, the economic structure of Montana had shredded

most of its earlier entrepreneurial characteristics, as the centralized nature of corporate industry and finance had taken over key industries in state. In just three years, however, the Depression of 1893 would rock the Montana economy to the core, leading to an even more intensive concentration of economic power. The third period is from 1890 to 1930 which marks the many changes in technology, economy, and society between the depressions of 1893 and 1929. The most significant transformation in the built environment was the homestead boom and bust of the early twentieth century. Copper mining and the Anaconda Company also became the dominant economic force in the state. Life on the Indian reservations also changed as lands were allotted to individuals and the remaining thousands of acres were opened to homesteaders. The resulting changes in land use patterns brought the township grid of the Euroamericans to land that had long had a Native American cast to it. The fourth period deals with more recent history, from the Great Depression in 1930 to the close of the immediate post-war era in 1950. For the Native Americans, the key development was the New Deal and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which returned some measure of self-government to the tribes and ended the disastrous allotment "experiment." For Euroamericans, the depression, New Deal, World War II, and the beginnings of the Cold War era are pivotal events. New Deal programs such as the CCC and the WPA impacted the lives of many Montanans. The war era also added alterations to the built environment of Montana, from the air bases in northcentral Montana to the spectre of internment camps at Fort Missoula.

Chart V: Chronology for the Historic Contexts of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process

Paleoindian (12000 to 8000 B.C.)
 Archaic (8000 B.C. to 500 A.D.)
 Late Prehistoric (500 to 1600 A.D.)
 Protohistoric (1600 to 1800 A.D.)
 First historic period (1800-1850 A.D.)
 Second historic period (1850-1890 A.D.)
 Third historic period (1890-1930 A.D.)
 Fourth historic period (1930-1950 A.D.)

THEMATIC

In developing the thematic parameters of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process, the author wished to avoid the static categories that characterized past historic preservation planning in Montana and past academic thinking about the patterns of Montana history. His primary goal was to establish thematic parameters that would reflect a history of process, of human behavior and activity over time. Another basic goal was to avoid themes that were largely ethnocentric in nature. The author wanted to create themes that could describe the behavior of both Native Americans and Euroamericans. Previous inventories of cultural resources in Montana, in combination with National Register of Historic Place site forms and general Smithsonian site forms, proved to be invaluable sources in creating such a comprehensive framework.²⁰

The following paragraphs provide the justification behind each of the six themes of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process. The first four consider how all human groups over time have developed the material

structure of their societies. The last two themes measure behavior that concerns the social aspects of the human condition.

USING THE RESOURCES OF THE ENVIRONMENT

This theme asks a basic question: how do humans use the physical resources at their command? From the Paleoindian through the Late Prehistoric period, the Native Americans hunted animals from bison to rodents and fished the rivers and lakes. They also sought out certain types of rock outcroppings to use as quarries. Indeed, the procurement of raw materials may be considered the "heart and soul" of Native American lifeways. Cultural resources measuring their use of the environment indicates how the Native American impact on the environment changed as their population grew and their technology changed according to the environment and its demands. During the protohistoric and first historic periods, the Indians hunted large numbers of fur-bearing animals to exchange for Indian or European manufactured commodities. The fur trade led to significant environmental changes, diminishing the number of several species of fur-bearing animals, particularly the beaver and buffalo.²²

Cultural resources indicating the Native American and Euroamerican utilization of the environment multiply in number during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, providing an index of the human impact on the land of Montana. For example, the Native Americans increasingly adopted new methods of using physical resources as they were introduced to and became acquainted with the technology of their Euroamerican neighbors. Stock-raising, farming, and logging became more prevalent; irrigation ditches became permanent additions to the landscape.²³ The initial Euroamerican settlers usually either mined the mountains or raised cattle and grain to feed the miners. Supplying timber to the mining camps was another key activity. But in less than a generation, logging on a massive scale, irrigation, tourism, conservation, and hydroelectric power became ways that Montanans used their environment.

DEVELOPING A TRANSPORTATION NETWORK WITHIN THE LANDSCAPE

This theme details how humans have developed paths across the landscape that connected them to other people or resources. The phrase "transportation network" conjures up images of trains, automobiles, and airplanes combining together to mark the landscape with an endless flow of traffic. But the author wishes to suggest a broader use, to include the trails the Native Americans established in the earliest years of Montana history, along with the river routes and topographic routes such as mountain passes utilized by both the Indians and the Euroamericans. Too often students of cultural resources and social scientists in general fail to realize that the path of the highway on which they travel follows a Native American trail route used for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Developing a reliable transportation network was a key to survival throughout Montana history, be it the prehistoric period when Native Americans established regular paths of movement which enabled them to use the environment in an adaptive and seasonal manner to the mountain passes that allowed Euroamericans to stay in contact with vital eastern and western markets. Transportation would embrace more than the paths of travel, including secondary structures that made the network viable to the respective culture such as rock cairns in the prehistoric era and service stations, stage stops, and hotels in the historic period.

DEVELOPING A COMMUNICATION NETWORK WITHIN THE LANDSCAPE

Throughout most of Montana history, three types of sites comprised the physical aspect of communication--the petroglyphs, pictographs, and lookouts of the Native Americans. At this time, no examples of rock art have been discovered that date to the Paleoindian period. Indeed there are few examples

of cultural resources relating to communication that can be dated to much of the Archaic period.²⁴ This is not surprising since rock art is a very fragile medium and cannot be expected to survive for thousands of years. But the paucity of physical evidence also indicates the importance of direct human encounters in communicating news, ideas, and beliefs in the prehistoric period.²⁵

Euroamericans introduced different modes of communication and relied less on direct personal encounters, although the labor, fraternal, and community halls of many early settlements often became the communication center of a given socioeconomic community. In less densely populated areas in rural Montana the community center and church became the communication center for the farmers and stockgrowers. When one thinks of communication-related physical resources, places such as fraternal halls and community centers are neglected in favor of telegraph and telephone lines, newspaper buildings, post offices, transmission towers, and outdoor advertising signs. This should not be the case. Gathering places where communication can take place person to person are as important in the modern period of Montana history as the current phenomenon of satellite dishes, often a commanding aspect of the rural Montana landscape.²⁶

DEVELOPING COMMERCIAL NETWORKS BETWEEN PEOPLE

Doubtless, the reader has noticed that a given cultural resource could be significant as a contributing factor to several different themes. This is deliberate; the thematic parameters of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process are defined so to allow "overlapping." For instance, the construction of a railroad clearly falls into the transportation network theme, but the railroad also plays a part in the communication network since it delivers mail and its depot often became a de facto community center, replacing the crossroads general store or local post office. The railroad also is a crucial component of the theme now under consideration, "Developing Commercial Networks Between People," which explores the many patterns of human behavior that create commercial networks. In fact, since commercial development involves, in most cases, the utilization of resources and the creation of transportation and communication networks, most of the cultural resources analyzed under the theme of "developing commercial networks" could also be identified as contributing to the "resources," "transportation," and "communication" themes.

As the historian Jose Gentil da Silva has noted "in history, everything is connected; and economic activity in particular cannot be isolated either from the politics and values which surround it, or from the possibilities and constraints which situate it." No doubt the establishment of commercial networks is a complex phenomenon, dating to the earliest periods of human history. In the prehistoric period, W. Raymond Wood has asserted, the landscape "was blanketed by a network of trails and trading relationships linking, to a greater or lesser degree, every tribe to one or more of its neighbors." Several studies have indicated that these prehistoric networks were well-developed and efficient means of exchange and barter by the end of the protohistoric era.²⁷

It is easy to identify fur trade posts, reservation agencies, steamboat bases, railroad towns, mining trade centers, and homestead trade towns as principal physical examples of commercial systems. Sometimes forgotten, however, are how reservation missions and "training" schools played an important role in integrating the Native Americans into the commercial networks of capitalistic America while also striving to teach Native American children the middle-class values which partially serve as the foundation for the

nineteenth and twentieth century commercial system. As the ethnohistorian James P. Ronda has remarked, the missions were "a revolutionary enterprise, designed to bring about a radical transformation of Indian culture. Native Americans were required to become like Europeans in all aspects of life--in matters of sex, marriage, economy, and government, as well as religion. The Indian who embraced Christianity was compelled, in effect, to commit cultural suicide."²⁸ Students of cultural resources also neglect at times the role of individual businesses and commercial enterprises when analyzing a given commercial district or trade town. It is useful to remember that physical evidence relating to commercial networks includes buildings that represent specialization within the network be they banks, commercial blocks, factories, hotels, or bars. Specialization in the commercial sphere will have its own patterns, such as the evolution of the "Mom and Pop" grocery store of yesteryear to the supermarket of today. Evaluating cultural resources under the theme of "developing commercial networks" calls on the cultural resource manager and student to analyze the resource carefully and to note how it impacted on many different spheres of human activity.

PATTERNS OF HUMAN MIGRATION AND HABITATION

The theme deals with cultural resources that indicate the arrival of new groups, be they Native American or Euroamerican, in the area now known as Montana. It also addresses physical remnants which contain evidence about seasonal movements and habitation patterns.

Thus far, archaeologists have been unable to determine when human beings initially arrived in the territory now known as Montana. The Indian Creek site (24BW626) however, proves that aboriginals were here at least 11,000 years ago. Most of the archaeological evidence which falls into this category during the Paleoindian period deals with seasonal movements.²⁹ The same is true for the Archaic through the Protohistoric period, with one important exception.³⁰ This is the Hagan site, a National Historic Landmark located in Dawson County. The site (24DW2) is attributed to the Awatixa Hidatsa, who lived in earth-covered lodges and cultivated the land. For some time after arriving in eastern Montana, they continued to live as they had along the Missouri River, as farmers and part-time hunters. But the resources of the Yellowstone Valley led the Awatixa to change their lifeways. They became known as the Mountain Crow and became a semi-nomadic hunting group, following the bison throughout the Yellowstone Valley. (Research underway at the University of Montana, however, casts doubt on some of Mulloy's conclusions; interpretation of the site may change in the future.)³¹

For the Native Americans in the nineteenth century, ethnographic sources provide most of the information about the migration of tribes such as the Assiniboiné, Northern Cheyenne, Blackfoot Confederacy, and Sioux into Montana. Sites that can be directly attributed to a particular tribe remain difficult to locate. From 1850 onward, the story of migration of the Native Americans can be found in the history books, in the story of ever-decreasing reservation boundaries and broken treaties. Several campsites, battlefields, and river crossings are attributed to the Nez Perce of Chief Joseph who moved into Montana Territory in 1877, attempting to escape reservation life in Oregon and Canada.³²

Sites marking the early arrival of Euroamericans in Montana are well known. A project is now underway to mark every Lewis and Clark campsite in Montana. Historical records also locate David Thompson's campsites in northwestern Montana; monuments mark many of these. Archaeologists have determined the location of almost every fur trading post in the state, but the exact location of the original St. Mary's Mission is unknown. For the

early 1860s, the towns of Bannack and Virginia City have been located and are state and federal monuments respectively. But sites attributed to Asians in the nineteenth century are not so well known; some have been just recently located.³³ The same can be said for Afro-Americans. In the twentieth century, places and sites associated with various ethnic groups, such as the Danes at Dagmar in Sheridan county, the Dutch immigrants at Manhattan township and the Mormons at Willow Creek township in Gallatin County, the Germans at Helmville in Powell County, the Hutterites in Fergus, Lewis and Clark, and Wheatland counties, and the Norwegians at Grain in Valley County become significant. For many of these groups, there are structures and patterns in the landscape, which exhibit certain ethnic characteristics and may be attributed to a particular group. Together with the historical record, such physical evidence helps to determine the extent of ethnic settlement in an area.³⁴

Another period in the history of human migration is that of the homestead boom and bust phenomenon of the early twentieth century. Homestead sites such as 24VL108, 118, 151, 24PH298, and 24MC78-79 indicate the significant level of in- and out-migration that took place in Montana from 1900 to 1930; abandoned homesteads, even those where only foundations stand, can be significant for reasons other than architectural considerations or connections to famous people. They are clues to human land use preference, settlement patterns, and the organization of a farm. Other building types that convey similar information about in- and out-migration include rural schools and churches.³⁵

Patterns of occupation and habitation allow the managers and students of cultural resources to understand how past groups of people moved within the state to maintain their way of life, utilize the environment, and develop settlements. Ethnographic sources have long maintained that during the winter, the Native Americans remained in one area for an extended period of time, but would move to a new occupation site once the seasons changed. Ethnographers and anthropologists have traced the patterns evident in this shifting nature of human occupations. In addition, recent archaeological investigations are building a data base from which prehistoric patterns of habitations can be discerned. One study of stone circles in northeastern Montana suggests that moving camp was such a difficult and time-consuming task that perhaps the "nomadic" Indians in the centuries before the acquisition of the horse were not so nomadic.³⁶ Another study of an extensive stone circle site in Broadwater County draws a similar conclusion: the Native Americans utilized "base" camps from which they hunted game animals in the immediate area and occupied a given area for an extended period of time.³⁷ Research over the past decade reminds cultural resource managers and students that much can be gained from analyzing Native American occupation sites--they are not mere "tipi rings" that can be casually dismissed as insignificant.

This theme also looks at physical resources that mark events or institutions that shaped settlement patterns. Such sites would include the "Sacrifice Cliffs" of Yellowstone County and the Judith Landing of Fergus County, two places associated with the smallpox outbreak of 1837 that decimated many of the Montana tribes, helping to open Montana for future Euroamerican settlers. It includes places associated with the negotiation of Native American-United States government treaties, such as Council Island, on the Missouri River near the Judith Landing, and the Council Grove State Monument in Missoula County. Primary among the institutions that shaped settlement patterns are the many army outposts, particularly those constructed in eastern and northern Montana, which encouraged the settlement of these areas while also protecting those who already lived in the territory. Final examples of

event-related sites that shaped human migration and occupation are the battlefields between the Native Americans and Euroamericans since these struggles would justify the Euroamerican occupation of much of Montana. Settlement to any degree did not happen in eastern Montana, for example, until the close of the wars of 1876-1877. Additionally, the battles also led to creation and maintenance of Native American reservations.

Finally, this theme explores the patterns of habitation which can be discerned from the built environment of Montana's towns and cities. In the last five years, detailed analyses of communities such as Lewistown, Roundup, and Hardin have uncovered interesting patterns in urban commercial and residential districts. These studies, when considered in the aggregate, allow the Montana Historic Preservation Office to establish a context useful in determining the significance of a given urban structure. Additionally, these studies allow the office to understand how developments in other spheres influence the look of a town. For example, the town of Saco in Phillips County is an excellent example of how the shift from railroad to highway transportation can lead to a reorientation in a town's commercial district. In the case of Saco, the establishment of U. S. Highway 2 as a major transportation artery quickly led the local business community to change the look of the town from that of a "T-town" to that of a "strip" or symmetrical town.

PHYSICAL EXPRESSIONS OF CULTURAL VALUES

Throughout Montana history, people have expressed the values and beliefs of their culture in symbolic terms. This theme is concerned with the physical remnants of those expressions, be they the drawings at Pictograph Cave in Yellowstone County, the ceremonies that took place at the Melville Lutheran Church in Sweetgrass County, or the rituals practiced at the Medicine Rocks of Fallon and Carter counties. Cultural resources relating to art, religion, architecture, and popular culture can be located throughout the state, for every chronological period save the Paleoindian.

This theme especially addresses architecture--Native American, stylistic, vernacular, and popular; it also embraces the field of landscape architecture and examples of significant engineering accomplishments. Perhaps the best way of understanding the cultural expressions implicit in many architectural forms is to consider the category of mansions in Montana, most frequently constructed from 1875 to 1925. Many of these dwellings are significant for their architecture or their connection to famous historical characters. But they are also vitally important for the cultural values they physically symbolize. Raymond Williams has written on the "Great Houses" of the English landscape; his remarks are pertinent to the interpretation of Montana's mansions. Williams asks today's observers of the English landscape to notice the great disparity between the farms that show common achievement and the mansions that loom over these farms and the entire landscape, dominating to such an extent that their power in society cannot be questioned. Williams directs his readers' attention to

look at the sites, the facades, the defining avenues and walls, the great iron gates and the guardian lodges. These were chosen for more than the effect from the inside out; where so many admirers, too many of them writers, have stood and shared the view, finding its prospect delightful. They were chosen, also...for the other effect, from the outside looking in: a visible stamp of power, of displayed wealth and command: a social disproportion which was meant to impress and overawe.³⁸

While not great English manor houses, it is useful to keep Williams' perception in mind when viewing the mansions of the Conrad family in Kalispell, of T.C. Power, Samuel T. Hauser, Wilbur F. Sanders, and William Chessman in Helena, of William A. Clark in Butte, and the Bitterroot Ranch of Marcus Daly near Corvallis.

Another way of discerning the cultural contribution of a particular structure is to analyze the structure's relation to the surrounding landscape. "To study a building as if it were on an artist's easel, detached from its surrounding," as one scholar has pointed out, "is to remove some of the most important evidence explaining why the building looks the way it does, and what its appearance has to tell us about the culture in which it was built."³⁹ There is a lesson to be learned from the archaeologists. When they analyze the remains of the Native American built environment (stone circles, wickiups, rock cairns, etc.), they survey and try to understand the relation of the site to the immediate environment. Rarely is the structure considered in isolation. Managers and students of cultural resources, who use the Fleming model of resource analysis detailed in Chart II, will find themselves adopting a "landscape perspective" when evaluating any aspect of the built environment.

The number of cultural resources dealing with the Native American architecture is immense and date to the earliest period of Montana history, the Paleoindian, with the primary remnants being rock cairns and rockshelters. Beginning with the archaic period, the physical evidence of the built environment rapidly multiplies. Archaeological surveys have uncovered many different types of structures; ethnographic literature details others. Undoubtedly, there was more to Native American architecture than the tipi in the prehistoric era. There were ceremonial structures such as the Cree "sapohtowa'n," the Cree "wewahtahoka'n," the Assiniboiné long lodge, the sweat lodge and sun dance lodge for all of the tribes, the burial lodge, the menstruation lodge, and the war lodge.⁴⁰ With the coming of reservation life, the Native Americans adopted many of the structures of the Euroamericans. John Ewers has observed that in the 1880-1890s dwellings on the Blackfeet Reservation "rapidly evolved from the canvas-covered tipi to the small, round-log cabin with dirt floor and roof of pine poles covered with earth, to the hewn-log cabin, to the neat clapboard house with wood floor and shingles roof." However, many Native Americans retained use of the tipi during the summer months since it was a much more comfortable structure in the summertime. Visitors to the reservations often noted that tipis and log houses stood side by side.⁴¹ In the twentieth century, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Native American dwellings are the successive generations of housing, approved and constructed under the watchful eye of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These "modern" homes would give the landscape a depressing sameness, if not the Native Americans' ingenuity in painting their houses in distinctive colors.

The Euroamerican contribution to the built environment is vast and varied. While a visual survey of the Montana landscape led the author to conclude

that the Victorian period and its many variations and adaptations are the most prevalent type of architecture in Montana, almost every current national trend from 1860 to the present is represented in Montana by some sort of building or structure. Chart VI lists the architectural periods to be considered in the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process. Though a chronological date is given for each period, there is often much overlapping of in a given chronological period. For example, Victorian architecture remained popular with many well into the twentieth century. The same can be said for several other architectural periods.

Chart VI: Architectural Periods Considered by the Montana historic contexts

Greek Revival (1865-1880)
 Mission (1890-1920)
 Pueblo (1935-1940)
 Spanish Colonial Revival (1915-1940)
 Colonial Revival (1870-1920)
 French Colonial (1860-1900)
 Federal (1860-1900)
 Egyptian Revival (1920-1930)
 Gothic Revival (1860-1890)
 Victorian Gothic (1860-1900)
 Italian Villa (1860-1900)
 Italianate (1860-1900)
 Renaissance Revival (1860-1890)
 Second Renaissance Revival (1890-1920)
 Romanesque Revival (1860-1900)
 Victorian Romanesque (1870-1890)
 Richardsonian Romanesque (1870-1900)
 Octagon (1850-1940)
 Chateau (1860-1900)
 Second Empire (1860-1900)
 Eastern Stick (1860-1890)
 Western Stick (1890-1920)
 Eastlake (1870-1890)
 Shingle (1880-1900)
 Sullivanesque (1890-1920)
 Beaux Arts Classicism (1890-1920)
 Neo-Classicism (1900-1930)
 Bungalow (1890-1940)
 Prairie (1900-1940)
 Art Deco (1925-1945)
 Art Moderne (1930-1950)

As significant a contribution to the built environment (and in Montana perhaps even more so) is popular (sometimes called pattern-book architecture) and vernacular (that which reflects local conditions and preferences) architecture. The analysis of popular and vernacular architecture is important for two reasons. First, in the words of D. W. Meinig, vernacular landscapes "display ordinary traditions, tastes, and values as expressed in tangible cultural features." For example, "comparative study of domestic, rural, town, civic, and commercial architectures and morphologies in the main regions of the United States in any era can provide important measures of the relative significance and trends of national versus distinctly regional styles, a subtle but fundamental measure of the emergence of a common culture."⁴² Without the results from such programs as the Montana Historic Preservation Office's historic surveys of towns and cities, the significant information Meinig refers to cannot be determined on a regional basis. In Montana, town surveys seek answers to two very important questions: 1) does the town or city contain buildings, structures, or historic districts which qualify for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places and 2) what do the patterns of the built environment in a given town or city tell us about the history of that place, and the type of people (ethnic background, occupational status, architectural preferences, etc.) who lived there? Clearly, town surveys in this state detail more than the architectural preferences found in a particular neighborhood; they attempt to delineate the patterns of activity and ideology that created the built environment of the town.

Certain categories of vernacular architecture have an uniqueness all their own. Fred W. Peterson recently argued, "the nineteenth-century American farm home is a vanishing phenomenon that merits recognition and evaluation as a significant part of American architecture and culture" because farm homes comprise "a distinctive and significant art form."⁴³ A recent survey of western barns concluded that the buildings were physical evidence of the regional climate since many people constructed barns to meet local weather and climate conditions.⁴⁴ These studies indicate that the analysis of popular and vernacular architecture has moved into new and promising areas of research.

In Section I, the author stressed the commitment of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process to landscape analysis. No where is such a perspective more important than in studying the built environment of Montana. From the work of scholars such as John Stilgoe, John Hudson, and H. Roger Grant, there is a greater understanding of how the railroads shaped the landscape by creating corridors reflecting urban values and determining the nature of town plans and growth. Others have pointed out the importance of rural churches and schools as community centers. The Montana State Historic Preservation Office has funded two separate surveys of the homesteading phenomenon in the state and these studies should determine several new landscape patterns the homesteaders added to the built environment. The primary question that landscape analysis can answer is how the location of a site indicates both its integrity and its significance to the builder and the community at large. But it can also help us to understand how governmental projects of the twentieth century, from Fort Peck Dam to nuclear missile silos, have altered the built environment through changes in land use, what are the patterns of irrigation and their effect on land use, what are the patterns of recreational development, and what are the changes in agricultural lifeways.⁴⁵

SECTION II: ENDNOTES

1. Ken Deaver and Stephen Aaberg, Archaeological Survey of the Kansas-Nebraska Pipeline Project (Eugene, 1977); Ken Deaver, Re-evaluation of Prehistoric Sites Located Along the Proposed WAPA Fort Peck to Havre Transmission Line (Billings, 1983).
2. David Rodnick, "The Fort Belknap Assiniboiné of Montana," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1938, 1-4; Symmes Oliver, "Ecology and Cultural Continuity as Contributing Factors in the Social Organizations of the Plains Indians," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, XL(1962), 20, 27, 31-31; Regina Flannery, The Gros Ventres of Montana: Part I-Social Life (Washington, 1952), 9-10, 13-14, 18-21; John E. Ewers, Blackfeet Indians: Ethnological Report on the Blackfeet and Gros Ventres Tribes of Indians (New York, 1974), 99; Edwin T. Denig, Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri, John C. Ewers, ed., (Norman, 1961), 68; Jeanne Eder, "Metis: An Historical Overview," Paper Presented at Eleventh Annual Montana History Conference, 1984, Lewistown.
3. Ken Deaver, ed., Archaeological Investigations of the Northern Border Pipeline, Montana Segment, Volume III: Interpretations (Eugene, 1983), 11-56 to 11-58; Kurt P. Schweigert, Montana Homestead Study Report (Bismarck, 1984), 23-28; K. Ross Toole, Twentieth Century Montana (Norman, 1958), 95-96; M. P. Malone and R. B. Roeder, Montana: A History of Two Centuries (Seattle, 1975), 178-219; Joseph K. Howard, Montana: High, Wide and Handsome (New Haven, 1943), 166-177.
4. Verne Dusenberry, The Northern Cheyenne (Helena, 1955), 3-18; Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the 18th and 19th Centuries," Journal of American History, LXV(1978), 336-342; William Mulloy, "A Preliminary Northwestern Plains Historical Outline," University of Wyoming Publications, XXII(#1, 1958); George E. Hyde, Indians of the High Plains (Norman, 1959), 120, 126, 149-50, 154, 197; Preston Holder, The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains: A Study of Cultural Development among North American Indians (Lincoln, 1979), 91; Beckes and Keyser, Custer National Forest, 273-296.
5. Malone and Roeder, Montana, 178-219; John A. Alwin, "Jordan Country--A Golden Anniversary Look," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LXXI(Dec., 1981), 479-498, John G. MacDonald, "History of Navigation on the Yellowstone River." M.A. thesis, University of Montana, 1950; Mark H. Brown, The Plainsmen of the Yellowstone River Fur Trade (Norman, 1963); John E. Sunder, The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865 (Norman, 1965).
6. Ken Deaver, Site Distribution in the Fresno and Nelson Reservoir Areas, North Central Montana (Eugene, 1981), 7-29 to 7-30.
7. Verne Dusenberry, "Montana's Displaced Persons: The Rocky Boy Indians," Montana: Magazine of Western History, IV(Winter 1954), 1-15; John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains (Norman, 1958), 205-225, 297-315; Ralph Shane, comp., Brief History of the Rocky Boy's Indian Reservation, Montana (Billings, 1969), 1-10; also see Thomas R. Wessel,

A History of the Rocky Boy Indian Reservation (Bozeman, 1975).

8. W. Thomas White, "Paris Gibson, James J. Hill & the 'New Minneapolis': The Great Falls Water, Power and Townsite Company, 1882-1908," Montana: Magazine of Western History, XXXIII(Summer 1983), 60-69; Schweigert, Montana Homestead Study, 23-27; Toole, Twentieth Century Montana, 60-61; Howard, Montana, 167-196; Robert Archibald, "Fort Benton: Gold and the Missouri River Trade," Gone West! II(Summer 1984), 2-5; Nicholas P. Hardeman, "Brick Stronghold of the Border: Fort Assiniboine, 1879-1911;" Montana: Magazine of Western History, XXIX(Spring 1979), 54-67.
9. Ewers, Blackfeet Indians, 63-69; Stuart and Betty Lu Conner, Rock Art of the Montana High Plains (Santa Barbara, 1971), 36-38; Eder, "Metis: An Overview;" Beckes and Keyser, Custer National Forest, 337; George N. Ruebelmann, An Archaeological Study of the Lewistown BLM District (Lewistown, 1982), 36.
10. Ellen Cornwall, Lewistown Historic Resource Survey (Lewistown, 1984), 1-7; William S. Reese, "Granville Stuart of the DHS Ranch, 1879-1887," Montana: Magazine of Western History, XXXI(Summer, 1981), 14-27; William Babcock, Roundup Historic Resource Survey (Roundup, 1984), n.p.; Jenane Caywood, et al., Cultural Resources Report: Central Montana Transmission Line (Missoula, 1982), 106-112; Malone and Roeder, Montana, 178-219; Carroll Van West, "Last to Build, First to Disappear: The Physical Impact of Milwaukee Road Abandonment," Paper Presented to the Eleventh Annual Montana History Conference, Lewistown, MT 1984, 1-3.
11. Mulloy, "Northwestern Plains," 215, 218; Robert H. Lowie, The Crow Indians (New York, 1935), 3-4; Oliver, "Social Organization" 31; White, "Winning of the West," 336-337; Hyde, Indians of High Plains, 1491-50; Larry A. Lahren, "The Myers-Hindman Site: An Exploratory Study of Human Occupation Patterns in the Upper Yellowstone Valley from 7000 B.C. to A.D. 1200," Ph:d diss., University of Calgary, 176, 180; Carling Malouf, "Montana's Aboriginal Inhabitants: The Indians," M. G. Burlingame and K. R. Toole, eds., A History of Montana (New York, 1957), I, 42-51.
12. Brown, Plainsmen of the Yellowstone: Official Northern Pacific Railroad Guide (St. Paul, 1892), 219-239; Waldo O. Kliever, "The Foundations of Billings Montana," M. A. thesis, University of Washington, 1938.
13. Tom E. Roll, ed., Kootenai Canyon Archaeology: The 1979 Land Project. Final Mitigation Report (Bozeman, 1982), 4.20 to 4.21.
14. Ewers, Blackfeet Indians, 70-76; Carling Malouf, "Economy and Land Use by the Indians of Western Montana, U.S. A.," Interior Salish and Eastern Washington Indians II (New York, 1974), 125-126; Stuart A. Chalfant, "Aboriginal Territories of the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and Kootenai Indians of Western Montana," ibid., 96-97.
15. M. C. White, "Saleesh House," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXXIII(July 1942), 251-263; Allan H. Smith, "The Location of Flathead Post," ibid., XLVIII(April 1957), 47-54; Albert J. Partoll, "Fort Connah: A Frontier Trading Post, 1847-1871," ibid., XXX(Oct., 1939), 399-415; F. M. B. Isch, "The Importance of Railroads in the Development of Northwestern Montana,"

- ibid. XLF(January 1950), 19-29; Delores Morrow, "Our Sawdust Roots: A History of the Forest Products Industry in Montana," unpublished manuscript, Montana Historical Society, n.d., 43-44; Ruth Masten, et. al., A Cultural Resources Overview of the Bonneville Power Administration's Flathead Valley Reinforcement Project in Northwestern Montana (Cheney, WA, 1981), 38-40.
16. Sherri Deaver, ed., Butte District Archaeology: A Class I Inventory of Prehistoric Resources (Billings, 1984), ii, 2, 133-37, 141-45.
 17. Robert R. Mierendorf, et al., A Cultural Resources Survey and Site Testing of the Bonneville Power Administration's Townsend-Garrison Transmission Line, Powell, Jefferson, and Broadwater Counties, Montana (Cheney, WA, 1982).
 18. M. P. Malone, The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906 (Seattle, 1981); Otis E. Young, Jr., Western Mining (Norman, 1979); Ellen H. Arguimbau, "The Granite-Bi Metallic Consolidated Mining Company," Montana Business Quarterly, (Spring 1978), 52-54; Virginia L. Speck, "The History of the Deer Lodge Valley to 1870," M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1946; Malone and Roeder, Montana, 129-177.
 19. David J. Wishart, The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840: A Geographical Synthesis (Lincoln, 1979), 20; Carl M. Davis, "Wickiup Cave," Plains Anthropologist, XX(Nov., 1976), 297-305; Dale P. Herbort, Cultural Resource Inventory and Assessment in the Pioneer Mountains Near Dillon, Montana (Butte, 1981); Oren Sassman, "Metal Mining in Historic Beaverhead," M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1941; K. W. Karsmizski and J. L. Brownell, Gallatin Valley Homestead Survey (Bozeman, 1983), I, vii-x; Larry Barness, Gold Camp: Alder Gulch and Virginia City, Montana (New York, 1962); Robert G. Dunbar, "The Economic Development of the Gallatin Valley," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLVII(Oct., 1956), 117-123.
 20. Particularly see George C. Frison, Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains (New York, 1978), 22-72. The author thanks Alan Stanfill of the Montana State Historic Preservation Office for the material he supplied for this section and his guidance and comments throughout the discussion of prehistoric chronology.
 21. See Project Bibliography for complete listing of sources consulted. York, 1978).
 22. See Smithsonian site forms for 24DW501, 24PH401, 24GN501, 24BW675.
 23. John C. Ewers, "Iroquois Indians in the Far West," Montana: Magazine of Western History, XIII(Spring 1963), 9; Rodnick, "Fort Belknap," 9-16, 19-22; Ewers, Blackfeet, 316-328; O. H. Svingen, "Reservation Self Sufficiency: Stock Raising versus Farming on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1900-1914," Montana: Magazine of Western History, XXXI(Oct., 1981), 14-23.
 24. Representative sites are 24PR601, 24BH1512-1514.
 25. For the Late Prehistoric period, see 24CB601, 24BHK1512-1514, 24FR2,

- and 24RB1053; for the Protohistoric period, see 24RV1026, 24BW9, and Tiger Butte Lookout file, State Historic Preservation Office, Montana Historical Society; for the first historic period, see 24YL1, 24JT401, and 24LA1022-23, 1026.
26. For representative sites, see the National Register of Historic Places files Montana Historical Society for the following: Fitzpatrick Post Office, Powell County, McCormick Advertising Sign, Broadwater County, the Judith Landing Post Office, Fergus County, and the Masonic Hall at Bannack, Beaverhead County.
 27. W. Raymond Wood, "Plains Trade in Prehistoric and Protohistoric Intertribal Relations," W. Raymond Wood and Margot Liberty, eds., Anthropology on the Great Plains (Lincoln, 1980), 99; Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Plains Interband Trade System: An Ethnohistoric and Archaeological Investigation," Ph:d diss, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; John C. Ewers, Indian Life on the Upper Missouri (Norman 1968), 18; Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, 'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto, 1978), 39-51, 237-241, Quote from da Silva is from Fernand Braudel, The Perspective of the World (New York, 1984), 19.
 28. James P. Ronda, "'We Are All As Well As We Are': An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions," William and Mary Quarterly, XXXIV(Jan., 1977), 66-67; James Axtell, "Invading America: Puritans and Jesuits," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XIV(Winter 1984), 646.
 29. For example, there are selected sites in the Pryor Mountains and the Elkhorn Wilderness Area. Beckes and Keyser, Custer National Forest, 339-340.
 30. See the inventory forms for the following sites: (Archaic) 24BW675; 24CB2, 24GA214, 24BW252-69; (Late Prehistoric) 24BW675, 24PR627, 24CB221; (Protohistoric) 24BW675, 25PH8, and general surveys for Demijohn Flats, the Fresno Reservoir, and the Pryor Mountains.
 31. William H. Mulloy, The Hagen Site: A Prehistoric Village on the Lower Yellowstone (Missoula, 1942).
 32. Rodnick, "Fort Belknap," 4-7; Verne Dusenberry, "Notes on the Material Culture of the Assiniboine Indians," Ethnos, (No. 1-2, 1960), 46; Ewers, Blackfeet, 271; Peter J. Powell, People of the Sacred Mountain (New York, 1981), I, 686-687. Sites attributed to the Nez Perce trek of 1877 include 24BE801, 24BL177, the Canyon Creek Battlefield Monument in Yellowstone County, and the Musselshell River Crossing Monument in Ryegate, Golden Valley County.
 33. 24LN171 (Japanese occupation); 24GN9 (Chinese occupation).
 34. "Dagmar," vertical files, MHS; "Scandia Lutheran Church," Historic Site Files, Montana Historical Society; K. W. Karaszski, et al., Gallatin Valley Homestead Survey: Interpretation (Bozeman, 1984), 26-27; Harold S. Knudsen, "Barns as an Index to Ethnic Origins in Western Montana," M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1969; Dorothy H. Schweider, "Frontier Brethern: The Hutterite Experience in the American West," Montana: Magazine

- of Western History, XXVII(Winter 1978), 2-15; Anna Zellick, "The Men from Bribir: Croatian Stone-Masons of Lewistown," ibid., 44-55; Rex Myers, "The Danes in Montana," Paper Presented to the Eleventh Annual Montana History Conference, Lewistown, 1984; Hans Peterson, "Hutterites in Northern Montana," ibid.
35. Karsmizski, Gallatin Homestead Survey is a detailed analysis of 187 homesteads in Gallatin County.
 36. Deaver, Archaeological Investigations: Interpretations.
 37. Leslie Davis, et al., Stone Circles in the Montana Rockies (Bozeman, 1982).
 38. Cited in Yi-Fu Tuan, "Thought and Landscape: The Eye and the Mind's Eye," Meinig, Ordinary Landscapes, 92-93.
 39. Lewis, "Reading the Landscape," 25.
 40. D. G. Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXVII(No. 2, 1940), 212, 244-248; Edwin T. Denig, "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," J. N. B. Hewitt, ed., Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928-29 (Washington, 1940), 488, 524, 554, 473; Ewers, Horse in Blackfoot, 285-286; Ewers, Blackfeet, 176; Ewers, Indian Life on the Upper Missouri (Norman, 1968), 118-122; George B. Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People (Lincoln, 1962), 282; Robert H. Lowie, The Assiniboine (New York, 1909), 39, 52, 57.
 41. Ewers, Blackfeet, 289, 308; Rodnick, "Fort Belknap," 4,7
 42. Meinig, "Shaping of America," 1195.
 43. Fred W. Peterson, "Vernacular Building and Victorian Architecture: Midwestern American Farm Homes," Journal of Interdisciplinary History XII(Winter 1982), 409; also see Clifford E. Clark, Jr., "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870;" ibid., VII(Summer 1976), 33-56.
 44. Richard V. Francaviglia, "Western American Barns: Architectural Form and Climatic Considerations," Association of Pacific Coast Geographers Yearbook, XXXIV(1972), 153-159.
 45. John R. Stilgoe, Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene (New Haven, 1983); John C. Hudson, "Towns of the Western Railroads," Great Plains Quarterly, II(Winter 1982), 41-54; H. Roger Grant, "The Standardized Railroad Station on the Great Plains, 1870-1920," B. W. Blouet and F. C. Luebke, eds., The Great Plains: Environment and Culture (Lincoln, 1979), 119-137; Robert C. Ostergen, "The Immigrant Church as A Sumbol of Community and Place in the Upper Midwest," Great Plains Quarterly, I(Fall, 1981), 225-238. Thomas Harvey, "Railroad Towns: Urban Farm on the Prairie," Landscape, XXVII(#3, 1983), 26-34; Alwin, "Jordan Country."

SECTION III: A CONCEPTUAL MODEL CREATED BY THE HISTORIC CONTEXTS OF THE MONTANA RESOURCE PROTECTION PLANNING PROCESS

Section III illustrates how cultural resource managers can apply the historic contexts of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process to existing literary sources and site files about cultural resources in the state. On the following page there is Chart VII, a fold-out diagram showing how the geographic, thematic, and chronological parameters of the historic contexts form a conceptual model of Montana history that is useful in determining a resource's eligibility under criteria a, b, c, or d of the National Register of Historic Places.

At first glance, the chart might appear complicated since it is clear that many cultural resources do not neatly fit into a single theme and chronological period. That is deliberate. Many times, cultural resources are significant for more than one reason--the conceptual model is a graphic illustration of that reality. It allows managers to see quickly the broad thematic coverage many resources receive.

The conceptual model probably disappoints those who wanted the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process to be a neat and brief "cookbook" on how to determine significance for a given cultural resource. Indeed, this document does not even attempt to list all of the properties that might be deemed significant in Montana at this time. As stated earlier, such a cookbook or mere listing was never the purpose of the Montana RP3. The Montana State Historic Preservation Office firmly believes, however, that a cultural resource manager will find the historic contexts of the Montana RP3 very useful in determining the significance of a given site because they allow professionals to subject cultural resources to the same thematic analysis, no matter the time period of the physical remnant. Managers and students will no longer be confused by the thematic categories of prior state preservation plans, which were heavily slanted towards Euroamerican activity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when they evaluate resources that do not fall into those traditional categories. The interdisciplinary and non-ethnocentric conceptualization of the historic contexts, together with a reliance on a model of analysis (similar to the Fleming model discussed in Section I) which focuses on what the researcher can learn from the cultural resource, enables professionals to make consistent decisions on the entire range of historic sites in the state, from the earliest periods of history to today. The next paragraphs discuss how to use the historic context model, outlined in Chart VII, in making cultural resource decisions.

As established by the National Park Service, Department of Interior, the criteria for evaluating a given cultural resource for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places are:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution

- to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history.

Criteria considerations

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- A. a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- B. a building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- C. a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his productive life or;
- D. a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves or persons of transcendent importance, form age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
- E. a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived, or
- F. a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or
- G. a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.¹

If the guidelines of the National Park Service look easy to apply, legions of professionals in the field of historic preservation would assert that determining significance is a very difficult task. J. A. Tainter and G. J. Lucas have correctly pointed out that cultural resource managers "cannot speak of significance as an inherent attribute of cultural properties, waiting only to be discerned ...Significance, rather, is a quality that we assign to a cultural resource based on the theoretical framework within which we happen to be thinking."² How then does the theoretical framework of Montana's

historic contexts help managers and students assign significance to a particular site?

When evaluating a given cultural resource, first place it in its chronological context. Then subject the physical remnant to resource analysis; this questioning could follow the Fleming model of analysis discussed in Section I, a sophisticated archeological model of analysis, or a similar method of studying the resource. Once the physical remnant has been "interpreted" as fully as possible, consider what thematic categories of human activity pertain to it. As evident in the discussion of the thematic context earlier, many times the cultural resource can be placed in more than one theme. A careful reading of the data, both physical and literary, uncovers whether the resource is multi-faceted, serving as physical evidence of several different types of human activity. When a given resource belongs to more than one chronological period and more than one thematic context, its chances of being a significant site are much greater. The importance of the historic contexts detailed in this report is that they constitute a context which allows preservation professionals to evaluate the significance of a resource in a comprehensive and comparative manner within the region in question and the state in general. Establishing National Register eligibility, however, does not end at the determination of significance. The professional must conduct additional research to determine the site's integrity (has later human activity impacted the site so to alter drastically its original appearance?). If the site lacks integrity, it is not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, no matter how its multi-thematic and multi-chronological quality underscores its significance.

A good example of the multi-chronological, multi-thematic site is an abandoned powerhouse used by the Chicago, St. Paul, Milwaukee, and Pacific Railroad. There are several Milwaukee Road powerhouses in Montana; it is not an unique site. But the powerhouse was in operation from the mid-1910s to the 1960s. Not only does it represent the theme of "Developing a Transportation Network" because of its ties to the railroad, it also reflects the "Developing Commercial Networks" theme because of the railroad's contribution to the capitalistic development of Montana and the northwest. But since the powerhouse received its electricity from a hydroelectric dam, it can be included within the "Using the Resources of the Environment" theme. The multi-thematic context of the Milwaukee powerhouse emphasizes its significance under criteria A of the National Register: a place "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the the broad patterns of our history," in this case, the longest electrified railroad line in the United States.

An even better example would be one of the Milwaukee Road's small town railroad depots, such as the one in Martinsdale. This is a "Standard Class A Passenger Station," a building type which one expert has identified as the best example of standardized railroad architecture in the west. The depot, therefore, falls under the category of "Physical Expressions of Cultural Values." Landscape analysis solidifies its placement in this category, for the depot's location reflects Martinsdale's "T-town" shape. The depot stands at the head of the main street, a definite physical statement of the railroad's importance to the town. Of course, as the key community institution, the railroad also falls under the categories of "Developing Commercial Networks," "Developing Communication Networks," (depots often

replaced the general store as the local 'hang-out'), and "Developing Transportation Networks." And since the railroad was the crucial institution leading to the settlement of this part of Montana, the depot also falls under the "Patterns of Human Migration and Habitation" theme. The depot's multi-thematic context shows its significance under criteria A, for clearly the depot is associated with events that made a significant contribution to the history of Martinsdale and Meagher County. (It is important to remember that criteria A considers buildings, structures, districts, sites, and objects that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to regional and local history.) Furthermore, the depot is significant under criteria C since its standardized architecture embodies "the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction." The Martinsdale depot is not unique; it represents many other depots in the state. Indeed, it is safe to say that in most small towns, the railroad depot is clearly the most important building and should always be closely evaluated and considered for National Register nomination.

The above comments are not meant to eliminate the distinctive or unique resource from National Register evaluation. Often, there is a unique or distinctive site (whether such qualities lie in its architecture, its association with events and/or people, possibilities for archaeological research, or some other category) that will fall into a single chronological period and a single theme. Indeed, the site might be the only one in a geographic region. A thorough investigation of the site, utilizing the steps and the questions generated by a model of resource analysis (Chart II), will tell the researcher whether the site is truly distinctive. In determining the significance of the unique or distinctive resource, the manager must remember that the resource cannot be significant merely because it is odd or unusual; it must be a clear representative of physical evidence that has a potential of uncovering important historical and/or archaeological data. In other words, it must meet the criteria of significance established by the National Park Service. Furthermore, the Montana Historic Preservation Office believes that those who use the historic contexts of the Montana RP3 in their decisions about cultural resources will discover that sites they believe are significant for only one reason often may be important under several themes and for a more extended chronological period than initially assumed.

The historic contexts of the Montana Resource Protection Planning Process do exactly what the term implies--they provide a context that can guide cultural resource managers in thinking about and evaluating the significance or lack of significance of a given cultural resource. If used judiciously, the historic contexts will enable managers to make consistent decisions about cultural resources, no matter the time, place, or person that the physical remnants represent.

SECTION III: ENDNOTES

1. National Park Service, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (Washington, 1982), 1-2.
2. J. A. Tainter and G. J. Lucas, "Epistemology of the Significance Concept," American Antiquity, XLVIII(1983), 714.